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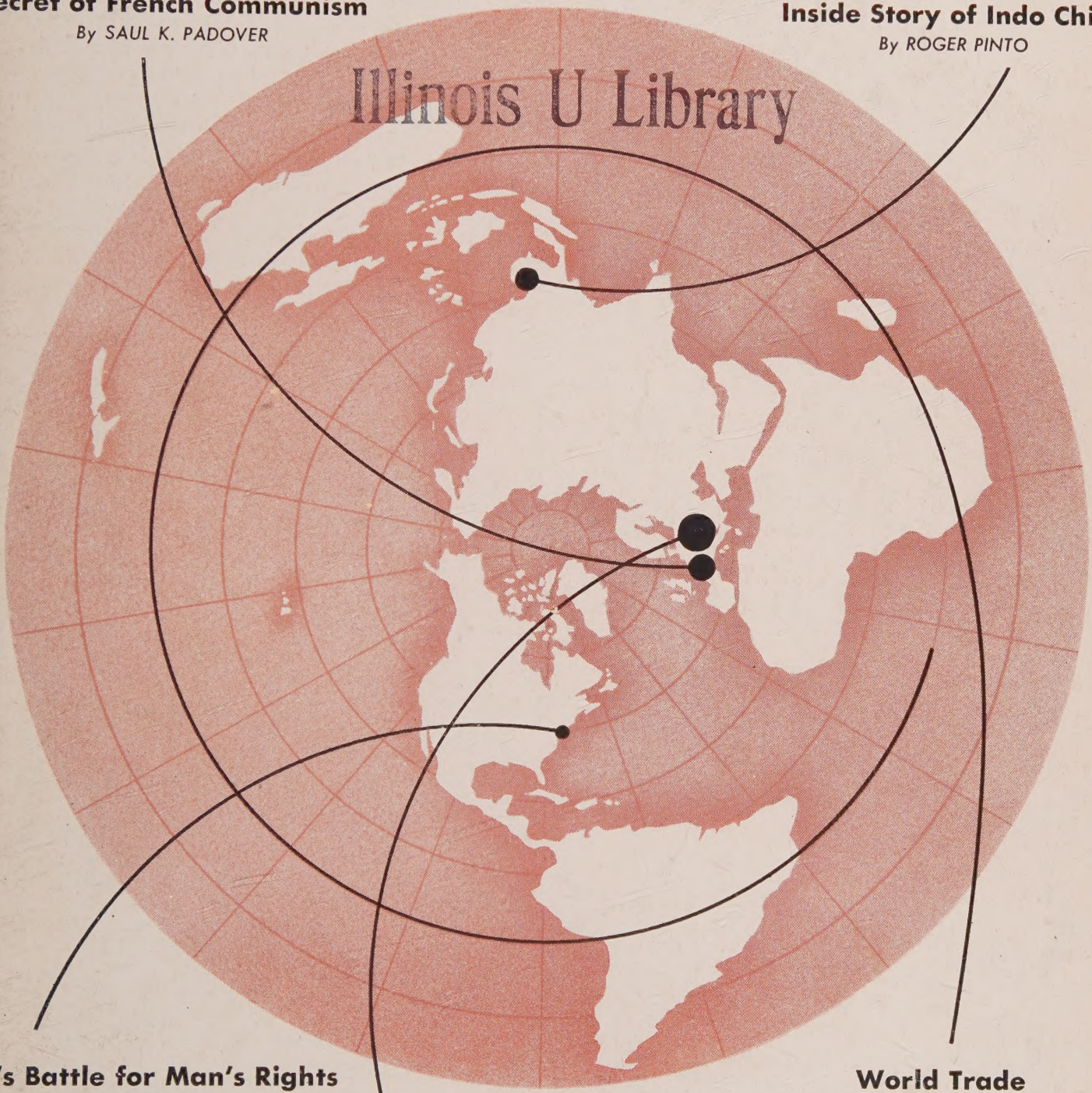

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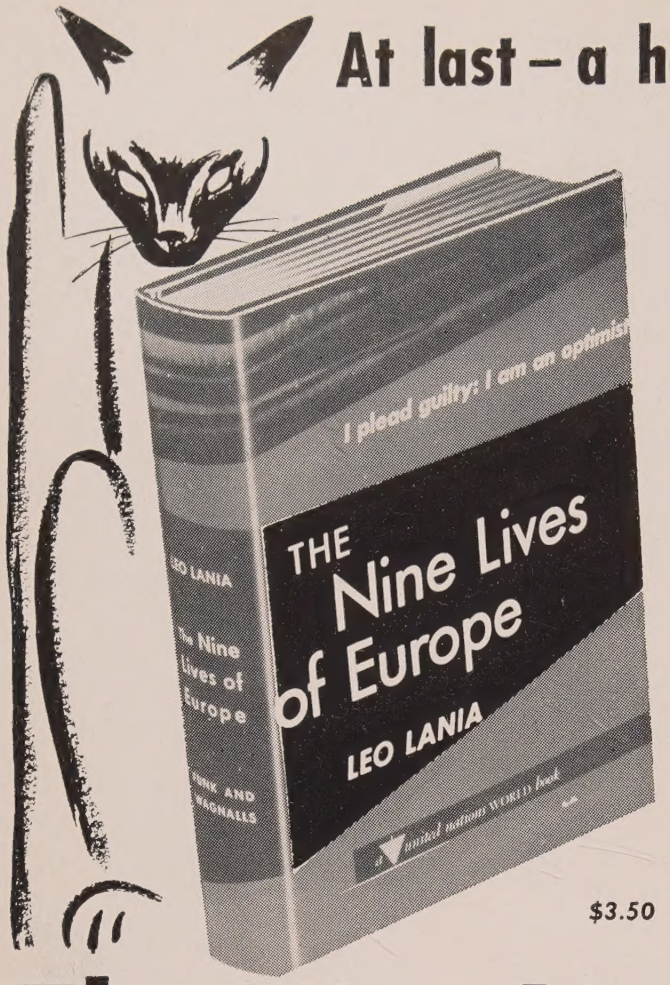


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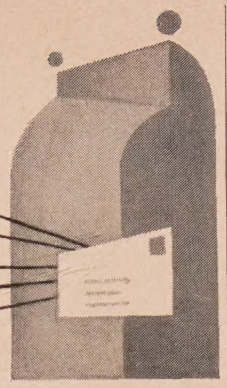
# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



Sirs:

I have been reading your magazine since it was first published and am sorry to say that I do not see . . . that "United Nations World represents a new type of international non-partisan journalism based on the principles of the Charter and the philosophy of world cooperation."

The United Nations World presents—whatever the original intent may have been—a rather one-sided story of world problems. I wish to point out that the article by Mr. Hoffman offers the well-known arguments concerning E.R.P. as the supreme weapon in the "Cold War," a program which is also directed against Poland.

E.R.P. destroyed the economic unity of Europe, it disrupted the natural trade relations on that continent, thus hampering economic reconstruction. It certainly did not further mutual understanding based on peaceful cooperation, as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations. All the other "Atlantic" measures followed suit, empoisoning the world with political distrust, encouraging war preparations and sowing hatred among nations not long ago united in a supreme effort to defeat nazism and fascism.

It is hard to understand how your magazine can promote informed public opinion, necessary to implement the Charter's lofty ideals, if it leaves the reader of the United Nations World with the impression that the opinion of Mr. Hoffman is the only valid argument on the aims and achievements of E.R.P.

This is unfortunately not an isolated case in your publication.

As a representative of a nation that has suffered so much in the last war, that dedicates now all its energies to peaceful economic reconstruction and the well-being of its citizens, I cannot restrict myself to pious platitudes, but I have to give you my frank and honest opinion. I would be amiss in my duty to the Polish nation which is vitally interested in peace and therefore vitally interested in the success of the United Nations Organization, if I would not express to you my sincere feelings.

I wish for nothing more than that the editors would make the United Nations World a magazine truly serving the principles of the Charter and the philosophy of world cooperation.

J. Winiewicz
Ambassador of Poland

United Nations World *has consistently fought and will continue to fight for the principles of the Charter, which are binding upon all members of the United Nations. We cannot agree with the Ambassador of Poland that the publication of an important article by Mr. Paul Hoffman, head of the ECA, which has contributed so much to the economic recovery of Europe, is a departure from the United Nations principles for which we stand. The Ambassador may be assured that there is no publication that will be happier than* United Nations World *to see the Soviet Union and the eastern European countries cooperate fully with the United Nations, and replace its current tactics of withdrawal and boycott of United Nations commissions and decisions by effective participation. As far as the reproach of one-sidedness is concerned, we must state, and surely the press at large will corroborate us, that it is almost impossible to get from Soviet representatives articles in which they present their personal views.—Ed.*

Sirs:

The brisk pace, the broad view, the desire to be to the point in every instance, make the United Nations World magazine a fit instrument to present to your readers views on the world.

One of the sources of the great ills which have plagued our generation is the wholesale confusion into which the peoples of the world were drawn. Any effort to dissipate this confusion and make clear the outline of world events is of paramount importance to the destiny of mankind. As a most effective form of achieving this aim, the United Nations World magazine deserves warm praise.

We, in Greece, having as one of our foremost aims the liberties to which all individuals are entitled, hails such a distinguished organ of the freedom of thought.

Vassili G. Dendramis
Ambassador of Greece

Sirs:

I have just read with considerable interest Mr. Berle's article in U. N. World January, 1950. I think he is absolutely right. The real difference is between Socialists and Communists. And I am sure that American democracy is pretty close to what we call socialism. I for one often try to explain how much "socialism" in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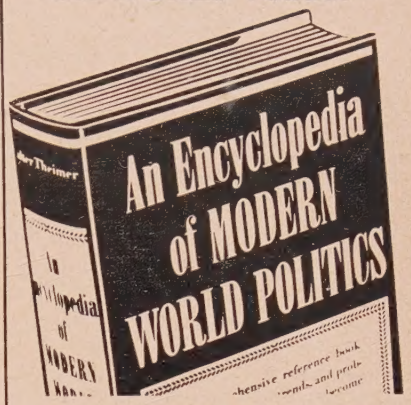


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Robert Mossé,
Professor of Economics,
University of Grenoble

Sirs:

As editor of a weekly newspaper that goes to thousands of school children, I feel deeply my responsibility for building better world citizens. I have found your magazine of the greatest help in getting a wider view of world situations.

Your suggestion that readers might wish to send the magazine to other lands is a good one. I am enclosing five dollars for one subscription, to be sent to someone in India. It may seem like coals to Newcastle to send the means of better world citizenship to a land whose leader might be called the No. 1 World Citizen. Yet I imagine Pandit Nehru needs all the backing up he can get. I'll leave it to your judgement where it should go — some school, perhaps? At any rate, my best wishes go with it.

Dorothy E. Reid
Editor, *Current Events*
Columbus, Ohio

*Miss Reid's moving gesture has been carried through. UNW is going to the editor of a village newspaper in Jnana Deepa Griham, which means Knowledge-Light-Village, in India.—Ed.*

Sirs:

On page 40 of the November issue it is stated that Mr. Rockefeller's men might be considering what would become of the UN headquarters if the organization folds in less than 99 years, for which time Mr. Rockefeller promised the lease. What I am wondering is what is to become of the building at the end of the lease when the UN will probably be even more important than it is now.

Mrs. Orville G. Withers
Providence, Kentucky

*Like all 99-year leases, the UN's provides for automatic renewal, in the year 2048 and presumably again in 2147 and 2246. UNW extends to Mrs. Withers its sincere hope that she will be on hand to witness at least the first renewal of the lease.—Ed.*

Sirs:

Your article in the March issue of UNITED NATIONS WORLD, "The Children's Army of the United Nations" emphasizes the importance of bringing to the children of the world a real understanding of what the UN can mean to them. We in the United States recognize that the end of traditional isolationism involves new responsibilities for education. Membership in the United Nations and in scores of specialized international agencies requires a new awareness of world problems. With sensational headlines flaunting crises in world affairs, American education must train for clear thinking on complex issues, and provide accurate information as the basis for sound public decisions.

The US Office of Education welcomed the request of the Department of State that it take the lead in implementing, on behalf of the United States, the resolution unanimously adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations asking all member governments to encourage teaching about the United Nations in the schools and institutes of higher learning in their countries. American educators are deeply interested in the problem of how best to carry on such teaching at all levels.

During the past year over 5,000 American teachers, students and leaders of civic groups requested information as to sources of materials on other nations, assistance in developing international projects, or guidance in establishing contacts with foreign schools for the purpose of carrying on correspondence, or exchanging arts and crafts, or books and professional publications.

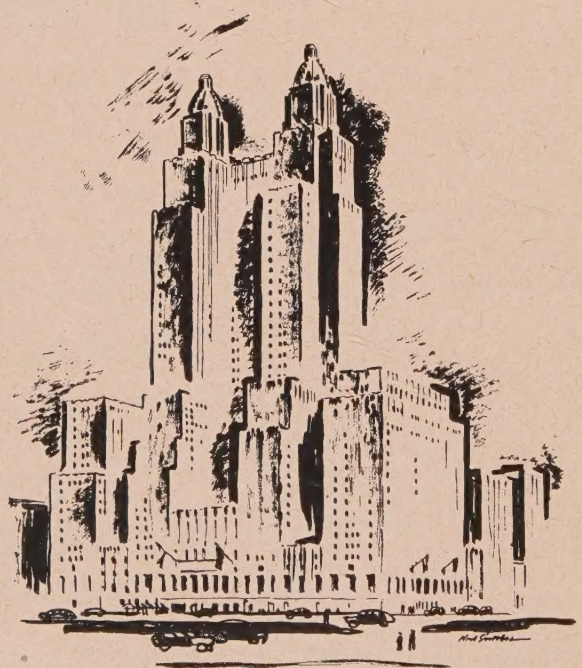
To assist these teachers "*A Selected Bibliography for Teaching About the United Nations*" was prepared early in 1949. The supply was quickly exhausted and a revised edition was issued in November 1949. A bulletin has just been published suggesting methods of incorporating the study of international relations in the curriculum and selecting and evaluating materials and sources: "*World Understanding Begins with Children,*" by Delia Goetz. A comprehensive handbook, with particular emphasis on methods and materials for teaching about the United Nations at all levels, is now in preparation.

In summary, the United States is wholeheartedly encouraging teaching about the United Nations. The schools themselves are responding not only by incorporating study of the United Nations in their regular curriculum at several levels, but by encouraging extra-curricular activities that may be still more influential. "Attitudes are caught, not taught," and we cannot build peace in the minds of men except where there is real understanding of the peoples of other lands and of how those peoples can make the United Nations work.

Earl J. McGrath
US Commissioner of Education

*UNW's thanks to Commissioner McGrath for his report on the youngest citizens and best hope of UN.—Ed.*


*Of International Renown*



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# Money To Remake the World

By WILLARD L. THORP

*Assistant Secretary of State*

SIX hundred million dollars of US private investment capital flowed into the underdeveloped areas of the world in 1949. This constant rate of outflow of capital is continuing.

At its Tenth Session, the UN Economic and Social Council, in accordance with resolutions of the General Assembly, gave urgent attention to an expanded program of technical assistance through the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies.

Improved techniques, introduced into the underdeveloped countries could in many cases merely by themselves lead to an enlargement of the output of goods and services and so to higher standards of living. Yet it is clear that effective pursuit of economic development objectives also involves the mobilization and utilization of capital.

We must never forget that the availability of adequate financing is only one of the factors determining the pace at which economic development will take place. The resourcefulness of the people in underdeveloped areas, their habits and attitudes, the political and social institutions which form the framework for economic action, the nature of the educational system, the health and skill of the working population, the nature of the tax system, and the quality of the government services, all exert an important influence.

Examination of the role to be played in underdeveloped countries by domestic capital on the one hand and foreign or international capital on the other, leads to the conclusion that domestic financing must carry the bulk of the total world investment needs. Each country must develop its own line of attack on the problem. The primary goal of action in this field should be the encouragement of useful savings habits by the people and the direction of savings into productive and socially desirable uses.

There are limits, of course, to the amount of local resources, whether private or public, which can be made available for economic development in any underdeveloped country.

### *The Role of Private Capital*

The United States Government believes that private capital can make a special contribution to the process of economic development, through foreign investment. It has instituted various programs to help create an atmosphere conducive to the flow of private capital abroad. Our hope continues to be that countries concerned with the problem of economic development will cooperate with capital exporting countries by effective arrangements against discrimination and unjust treatment of the investor.

Private foreign investment is not the only source for the international flow of capital. The US Government continues to support the activities of the International Bank and the Export-Import Bank in fields appropriate for public financing.

I have frequently expressed optimism concerning the availability of funds for investment abroad. Action appears to be required, not so much to increase the supply of capital, as to convert the large and vague needs for investment in the underdeveloped countries into specific demands.

A very considerable proportion of the $600,000,000 of US private long-term investment in underdeveloped countries in 1949 was related to the petroleum industry. While one may find reasons to regard such a flow as a special case, it demonstrates that private capital will go abroad when the conditions are sufficiently attractive. Naturally we would like this rate to be much higher, especially in view of the contribution which private capital can make, not only in providing needed equipment and other capital goods, but also in bringing with it technical know-how and experience.

So far as the United States is concerned, our program to guarantee certain new US private overseas investments against risks peculiar to such investment has not yet been implemented. It is our hope that the Bill authorizing such an operation will become law in the near future and will provide a further stimulus to increased private capital flow. In addition, several countries have recently entered into treaty arrangements with us which define the rights and responsibilities of foreign investors.

What has been the recent experience with respect to investment from public sources which moves very largely into these basic sectors?

During 1949 the International Bank authorized loans totalling almost 210 million dollars, of which 85 percent was for underdeveloped countries. This compares with a total of 32 million dollars of loans authorized during 1948, 50 percent of which went to underdeveloped areas.

The Import-Export Bank of Washington authorized foreign loans totalling 240 million dollars in 1949, nearly all to underdeveloped countries. The comparable total for 1948

was about 115 million dollars, with about 70 percent of the total to underdeveloped areas.

Of course, in most of the countries which have received loans, the projects approved represented only a part of their more extensive plans for economic development. This does not mean that assistance for the balance of these plans has been denied. The UN Technical Assistance program is now only in its early stages, and it has a real contribution to make in preparing the way for capital. I can therefore today see little reason for pessimism. We have laid a groundwork for increasing investment in underdeveloped areas which gives promise of much greater accomplishment.

These statements have been confined to a discussion of dollar investment loans. But we should look forward to an expansion in the flow from non-dollar sources of the capital and equipment needed by the underdeveloped areas. For many reasons, expansion of this kind would have marked effect upon the rate of capital formation in underdeveloped areas.

We are but on the threshold of our cooperative effort to hasten the processes of economic development throughout the world. Capital for investment—private capital and public capital—is moving into underdeveloped areas in substantial quantities, although the quantities are far from sufficient to meet the overwhelming needs. I feel that this capital flow will continue to increase, stimulated by the growing effectiveness of the UN Technical Assistance program.

### *HOW IT WORKS*

*Financing to provide for the greatly expanded program of UN Technical Assistance will be underwritten by voluntary contributions of the countries which are members of the participating organizations.*

*The US contribution to the program may be higher than the percentage it now pays to the regular budget of an organization, but this would be on a voluntary basis. US legislation now sets ceilings to US contributions to WHO, ILO and FAO. Bills now before the Congress would authorize contributions for Technical Assistance in excess of these ceilings.*

# Congo Witch Doctors From Moscow?

The Belgian Congo, source of most of America's uranium supplies, reports the latest Communist technique as the use of sorcerers or specially trained African witch-doctors. The Union Minière du Haut Katanga, which controls the pitchblende mine at Shinkolobwe, has observed a new pattern to recent labor disorders.

In widely separated places, the African workers massed in fanatical crowds which could not be dispersed in the usual ways. From the center of the crowd in each case there arose a strange syncopated melody played on flutes and developed out of the musical phrases that, to the African, exalt disobedience. As the music progressed, the rhythm grew faster until the crowd reached a frenzy. In each case, a sorcerer was reported present in the crowd. But when order had been restored, the sorcerer could never be found nor could the Africans give any rational reason for the demonstration.

The Belgian press claimed to have got wind of a report issued by the Belgian Service of National Security which explained these odd doings. The Soviet Legation in Addis Ababa in Ethiopia was accused of being the center of the central African network of Communist agents. Sixty hand-picked Africans had been sent to Moscow in 1948 for training as sorcerers by other Africans qualified in the art. They were of course also given the Marxist line on capitalism's exploitation of the African and his lands. Then they were returned to Africa to spread unrest.

The Belgian Government promptly denied that any such report existed. The Ethiopian Government denied that the Soviet Legation had a staff large enough to direct any such agitation.

But the fact of subversive agitation in the Belgian Congo is reported by a surprising number of observers. J. van Bilsen, editor of the authoritative *Belgian African Review*, wrote last January: "In the Congo subversive propaganda seems to be concentrated in two areas: Leopoldville, the chief transportation center, and the mines of Katanga where strategic minerals are produced."

Meanwhile, Father Booth of Katanga has also warned of the spread of Communism. Cardinal Van Roey after a visit to Leopoldville made a statement that the Communist danger was very real in the Belgian Congo.

In fact, the administration has actually tightened controls in the Congo. The whole police organization, especially in the Katanga region has been alerted.

The Belgian Government does not want to endanger its ambitious ten-year plan for industrial development by a 19th Century approach to the morale of the workers. At the last convention of Belgian Christian trade unions, J. Masa, Congo delegate, presented a gloomy picture of the Congo worker's lot: abominably low wages, abject poverty, lack of hope of training and advancement.

Last summer the Council of Government tried to fix a minimum standard of Congo living by listing the possessions an African bachelor should be able to acquire.

He should be able, agreed the Council, to get a cake of soap a week, six packages of matches, twelve liters of gasoline and as a "luxury item" one pack of cigarets. Within a year, he should have acquired a plate, a knife, a glass, a bowl, two shirts, a jacket, a pair of shoes and a raincoat. At the end of two years, he should have two pans, two basins and a pail. In five years or "eventually," he should be able to buy a bicycle.

The companies, however, are making concessions to attract more workers to Katanga to get the pitchblende out of the ground. Edgar Sengier, managing director of the Union Minière du Haut Katanga, has succeeded in transplanting by air almost a million workers from Uganda.

Mr. Sengier is widely given a share of the credit for Hiroshima, because he supplied most of the uranium for the American development of the bomb. His output still goes to only the US, England and Canada.

The Belgians naturally find it intolerable that his work should be challenged by the emergence of Communist witch doctors out of the jungle via Moscow.

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# The Lighter Side Of The State of the World

**In Nigeria,** some African workers recently asked for an increase in wages and produced the usual list of the higher cost of essential commodities. At the head of the list was the cost of a woman. Before the war, the usual price had been £15, then about $60. Now it is £120 or about $360. Labor was pointless, said the Africans, without any hope of getting up that £120.

Whatever views the economist, the moralist or the anthropologist may have on this situation, the Nigerian still wants his woman, whatever the price.

**In France,** the vintners' indignant campaign against Coca-Cola took the form of satirical stories of the lengths to which American advertising would go to undermine the French allegiance to wine. An example: "Do you know that the Americans are sending us 60 parrots to sit in the best bars and scream over and over at the customers, 'Drink Coca-Cola!' "

**In Vienna,** the current oversimplification of recent history is: "Until the Anschluss we were all right. Afterwards, Hitler told us we were even better off. Then the Allies told us we were still better off. But we would be satisfied if we could just be all right again."

**In Paris,** the President of the Fourth French Republic, M. Vincent Auriol, was inspired by a preview of Molière's *Tartuffe* to protest against hyprocrisy on the current political scene. "What great successor of Molière," the President asked, "will give us a picture of the Tartuffe of demagogy?"

**In Moscow,** the supposedly American phenomenon of the "bobby-soxer" has at last made an appearance. The preposterous fact is revealed by the newspaper *Evening*'s account of a performance by the male opera singer Lemechev: "We must put an end to the stupid enthusiasm of these teenagers who scream when Lemechev appears in the Bolshoi Theatre."

This was serious to Lemechev who suspected that his having the peculiar gifts of Frank Sinatra might get him listed as a "contaminated cosmopolite" by the secret police. At the close of his performance he stepped to the front of the stage and told the youngsters, "I dislike intensely this interminable applause and hysterics. It is not good for an artistic performance."

He had no more sobering effect on his following than Sinatra has ever had. The bobby-soxers still flock to the Bolshoi Theatre to scream at Lemechev.

**A French** husband told a Chinese friend: "My marriage is perfect. My wife and I have a perfect understanding. She defers to me on all the important matters. And I defer to her on all the unimportant matters."

"How does it work out?"

"Well, in ten years of marriage no important matters have come up."

"I," said the Chinese, "have an even better arrangement with my wife. All matters, important or unimportant, are subject to my decision, all except one."

"What is that one?" asked the Frenchman.

"Me."

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# United Nations

## *Three Solutions to*

### *UN and the Soviets*

The United Nations today has its ear to the ground listening attentively to every stir from East or West that might indicate an early solution to the grave situation resulting from Russia's boycott of UN bodies. Rumors vary all the way from return of the USSR and the other Soviet-bloc nations within the next few weeks, to their ultimate withdrawal and formation of a rival Communist United Nations. But in high circles the opinion is persistent that the Soviet states will be back in the UN before the middle of summer.

Secretary-General Trygve Lie's memorandum, circulated to all delegations, offered a possible means of breaking the deadlock over China's representation in the UN—cause of the Soviet walkout. He suggested that recognition of a government by other nations should be separated from the issue of its UN membership, and that admission to the UN should be accorded the government having de facto control over its territory.

UN sources see today's stalemate broken by any one of several potential happenings:

1) Recognition of Mao Tse-tung's government, which now controls the Chinese mainland, by a larger number of UN member nations. Out of the 59 members, only 15 have thus far recognized Mao's regime.

2) A special session of the Security Council, attended by Foreign Ministers of the member nations rather than by delegates, may meet and arrive at a means of breaking the deadlock over China.

3) A special session of the General Assembly might be called to deal with the issue. The regular session, or Fifth General Assembly, does not convene until next fall.

While Western reaction to the UN crisis was seeking direction, UN organs continued to function. The Security Council last month reached an important decision in the controversy between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. The Economic and Social Council met for its Tenth Session, and covered a wide agenda, though to some extent its action was hampered by the possibility that its decisions on world social and economic problems, taken in the absence of the Soviets, might be rejected by them on their return.

### *Mediator for Kashmir*

The Vale of Kashmir is ringed by towering Himalayas that give the people a feeling of dwelling at the center of the universe. Last month in the UN Security Council, they were the center of sharp debate between India and Pakistan.

The Council took its first major decision since its boycott by the USSR. It adopted a resolution to appoint a Mediator for Kashmir, to oversee demilitarization and prepare for the plebiscite which will determine to which nation it shall belong. UN circles were enthusiastic over the probability that the appointment as Mediator would go to Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, USN, who is known to be favored by Pakistan, with Dr. Ralph Bunche, favored by India, as his Chief of Staff. Dr. Bunche was UN Acting Mediator for Palestine.

Even before the Security Council vote, Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan of Pakistan and Sir Benegal Rau of India had accepted the resolution on behalf of their governments. Many UN observers saw in the Council's decision significance beyond the fate of Kashmir. They declared it offered encouraging proof that the Council, and other organs of the UN, can continue to cope effectively with world problems despite USSR absence.

### *ECOSOC: Tenth Session*

"The democratic nations have had a magnificent opportunity to demonstrate to the world that constructive work and international collaboration are possible."

These words from the closing address of Dr. Hernan Santa Cruz of Chile, President of the Tenth Session of the Economic and Social Council, underline how much the session achieved in spite of the absence of all the Communist nations except Yugoslavia. Their absence he deplored as "neither understood nor vindicated by world public opinion." But he looked for their presence at the next session, because "they must understand that the Council offers a broad field for cooperation for those who genuinely seek world economic and social progress."

### *Advisory Groups*

The Council approved a new statute designed to improve its relations with the non-governmental organizations that serve as its consultants. These in the past have helped devise many

# Action Report



## he Chinese Puzzle

measures for economic. social. cultural and humanitarian progress.

### *Action*

The Tenth Session took definite action in four vital directions:

1) *Welfare:* It gave its Social Commission the go-ahead signal for a world-wide program of prevention of crime and delinquency, child and youth welfare, rehabilitation of the disabled, and exchange of information on housing.

2) *Labor:* As a new step in promoting trade union rights, it accepted the offer of the International Labor Organization to establish a Commission to investigate infringements of such rights, and to settle disputes by conciliation. Previous sessions of the Council had union rights included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; defined the principles of trade union freedom; and approved a world Convention or treaty drafted by ILO to insure their respect.

3) *Prosperity:* The Council noted certain trends which appear to endanger postwar economic stability, and took steps to meet them. It asked governments, specialized agencies, and non-governmental organizations to study the report of its experts on national and international measures to promote full employment. At its next session it will hear from representatives of production, trade and labor on these and other concrete proposals for maintaining a high level of prosperity.

### *Underdeveloped Countries*

The Council saw ultimate improvement of the world economic picture chiefly through the new avenues of world trade that would be opened up by industrial progress in the underdeveloped countries. Its Regional Economic Commissions for Latin America. Asia and the Far East. and its World Conference on utilization of natural resources, have helped formulate many recommendations for international cooperation to help the backward areas.

This session pushed forward the work on the greatly expanded United Nations Technical Assistance Program, which will double its activities.

### *WHO:*
### *Help Wanted: Female*

Tremendous expansion of public health work is creating hundreds of thousands of jobs around the world for women who want to go in for nursing. It urges recruiting of candidates and expansion of educational facilities, as well as effective use of present personnel. Even nations with well-organized health services, it finds, have an insufficient ratio of one nurse to each 400 persons. In the less advanced countries there are millions with no nursing services at all.

### *A Mosquito Zoo*

Creatures more dangerous than the spotted leopard are indigenous to Asia—and many of them travel on wings. To study them better the World Health Organization has opened its own mosquito zoo in the Chiengmai district of northern Thailand. There it is raising under laboratory conditions some of the choicest malaria-carrying monsters.

The purpose of the Chiengmai medical team is to find out just what it takes to kill these man-eating mosquitoes. To do so they pass a flock of them from their cage into a chamber of DDT, from which they are allowed to escape into a new trap. The concentration of DDT that is lethal for each variety can thus be learned.

Knowledge gained has already been applied in spraying the environs of Asian villages in Thailand and in many parts of India, where the winged man-eaters cause sickness and death. Someday the only specimens extant may be those on display in the WHO zoo.

### *ICEF:*
### *Taft Presents the Bill*

Senator Robert A. Taft has introduced a Bill in the US Senate which may, if enacted with the necessary appropriation, enable the UN International Children's Emergency Fund to go on operating through most of 1951. By that time it is expected that the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly will have set up a permanent UN body to meet the needs of the world's children.

The Taft Bill extends for one year, to June 30, 1951, the present Congressional authorization of $100,000.000 in matching funds for the UNICEF.

It is expected that enactment of the Taft Bill would be followed by appropriation of the remaining $25,000.000—for which UNICEF would have to raise another $10,000,000 from other governments before the June 1951 expiration date.

***FAO:***
***War on Rats***

Ten percent of the world's total crop of grain today serves as food, not for hungry humans, but for rats and insects who invade grain stores.

On April 17 delegates of the Latin American nations will arrive in Costa Rica for a ten-day tour and grain storage demonstration, under the sponsorship of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization and the Costa Rican Government. FAO has had a technician in that country since last August, directing a year-long cooperative demonstration project on the best ways of protecting grains from loss caused by rats, insects and fungi.

The visiting technicians will see a government grain storage plant in San Jose, and observe laboratory procedures such as sampling, drying and testing for moisture and insects.

This is the second such meeting on infestation control convened by FAO in South America. The first, at Cali and Palmira, Colombia, in February 1949, was attended by technicians from all the Latin American nations.

***ILO:***
***Dinnerpail Fadeout?***

ILO last month reported an increase in unemployment in most countries for a 12-month period. Its figure for the US is 4,480,000 unemployed in January 1950, as compared with 2,664,000 in January 1949. Canada showed 222,100 in December 1949, only 144,100 a year earlier. France had 153,500 jobless in December, 98,600 the year before; Belgium 309,000 in January as compared with 253,600 the year before. Unemployment in Finland more than doubled. It rose in Italy, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland. It continued to climb in the German Federal Republic, to new highs of 1,481,900 in the British and American zones and 76,600 in the French zone in December. The worldwide trend appeared only to be broken by the reports of somewhat increased employment in Ireland, Sweden, Australia and New Zealand.


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United Nations WORLD Magazine April, 1950

# The Revolt Against The Giants

## 1. USSR: The Fallen Idol

By VERNON BARTLETT
*Diplomatic Correspondent of the London News Chronicle*

A violent political and moral revolt against the implacable dogmatism of the Soviet government affects millions of people who originally had great sympathy for the communist experiment. There are also growing misunderstandings and fears, although to a lesser degree, regarding not so much the aims as the methods of the USA in its new role as a world leader. This explains the recent sharp demands for aloofness and neutrality in the East-West struggle by distinguished Europeans who, while profoundly anti-communistic, are seriously disturbed over the way in which world events are shaping up, threatening to destroy civilization.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD has asked two outstanding international observers to analyze the revolt against Russia and the fears about the USA. In the following article, Mr. Bartlett, the world famous foreign correspondent, explains the meaning of Europe's stand against communist Russia. In our next issue, Professor G. A. Borgese will take up a theme of no less importance — the mounting skepticism toward the United States.

ONE afternoon thirty-one years ago I stood in the doorway of a crowded room at the Quai d'Orsay during a plenary session of the Peace Conference. There sat President Wilson, stern and unsmiling; Lloyd George, lively and voluble; Clemenceau, tired and cynical. And the foreign ministers of the minor powers, the high officials, the experts, the interpreters, the journalists, the distinguished visitors who treated this business of peace-making as a social function to provide material for conversation at their dinner parties.

A little bearded man with spectacles caught me by the arm. "Let's get out of here," he said. "These people are all dead." I was a very young reporter, and the little man was the great Lincoln Steffens. I was

so proud to be picked out by him that I forgot to be embarrassed because his comment was audible for yards around. We went up to a cafe on the Place du Tertre, at the summit of Montmartre, and he talked about his experiences in Bolshevik Russia with Bill Bullitt. For these two men had returned only a few hours earlier from a visit to the country whose dark and mysterious shadow so darkened our conference room and so alarmed our dapper and respectable representatives of the "bourgeoisie."

### *The Grand Illusion*

I had at that time met no Communists. I didn't know if Lincoln Steffens belonged to that party. Most of my friends were Liberals or Socialists, and they weren't sure about the Bolshevik revolution. Was it really essential that such desirable social changes should be accompanied by so much bloodshed? How much were the atrocities exaggerated by Mr. Churchill and others who were hoping to destroy Lenin with the help of counter-revolutionary armies? Had the surrender to the Germans, which had given the Kaiser his last hope of victory, been necessary? Here, at last, was a man who knew, and whose friendly sincerity I could not question. And Lincoln Steffens talked with the enthusiasm of a religious convert. I don't know to this day if he was ever a Communist; I do know that he passed on to me his confident hope that the Soviets had started off a movement which would put an end to war and injustice. My friends whom I had seen die in Flanders had not died in vain.

I wonder how many millions of young people like myself found inspiration in what was happening in Russia. Undoubtedly horrible things were happening there as well, but they were probably exaggerated in Riga, which had become the greatest lie factory in Europe. In any case, we told ourselves, they were evidence less of imperfections in the Soviet leaders than of the ignorance in which the Tsars had deliberately kept the Russian people. As time went on, some of my colleagues visited Moscow—sensible and reasonable fellows like Walter Duranty and Louis Fischer—and they wrote of much that was good and promising. The Russians themselves came in force to the International Economic Conference in Genoa in April 1922, and their office in Room One in the Hotel de Gênes drew to it the most interesting people in Europe. Tchicherin and his fellow-delegates were treated with such discourtesy and stupidity by most of the statesmen of the West that the sympathy of liberal-minded observers went out to them.

But after Lenin's death in 1924 the rot had set in. Trotsky was exiled as a traitor. The Moscow trials were unintelligible and inexcusable, and it seemed that the men with the most independent minds were the first victims. It was incredible that a man like Radek, whom many of us had met and admired at international conferences, could have committed the acts of treachery of which he was accused or could have made such abject confessions of his crimes had he committed them. And nothing could have done more to emphasize the gap between the Russians and the liberal-minded people who had turned so hopefully towards them than the fact that Moscow thought fit to distribute volumes of the proceedings at these trials all over the world.

### *The Sad Story of the Thirties*

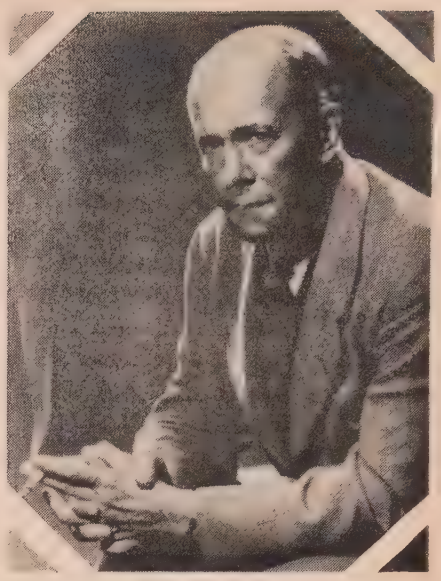
For ten years or so the process went on of disillusioning the intellectuals against their will. And yet Communism gained ground. It gained ground less for positive than for negative reasons, less because its actions in Russia won admiration than because the actions of the "bourgeois" countries caused such despair. In Britain the general strike of 1926 had been followed by repressive laws which embittered the whole Labor movement. In every country the great slump produced large-scale unemployment—and unemployment, we were assured, did not exist in the Soviet Union. Welsh miners hung around the pitheads, their minds poisoned by a "dole" that kept their families just alive and a "means test" that stank of grudging charity. In the United States there were the unimaginative and unconstructive presidencies of Coolidge, Harding and Hoover, and Americans watched our efforts in the League of Nations from the sidelines. One suspected Mr. Litvinov's sincerity when he demanded complete disarmament at Geneva, as one suspects Mr. Vishinsky's sincerity in the Atomic Energy Commission at Lake Success, but he put our own statesmen so pitiably on the defensive. His wit made them look ridiculous, and it is humiliating to a nation's pride to be represented abroad by men who arouse ridicule. Worst of all, the British and French bickered about the future of Germany, thereby giving the German militarists an opportunity of recovery that is appallingly similar to that which four-power bickering is giving them again today.

Small wonder that during so pusillanimous and uninspiring a period the Russians should have won support even from people who in other circumstances would have been repelled by their contempt for individual freedom. André Gide, disgusted by the contrasts of privilege in his own country, turned to Russia as hopefully as any convert ever turned to Rome—and found there contrasts of privilege as shocking as any in France. Arthur Koestler became a Communist because he saw no other party ready to take a strong line against Hitlerism — and then found that the Communists were above all interested in destroying Liberalism and Socialism. Ignazio Silone was driven along the same path by his hatred of Fascism—and then discovered that all other Communist parties were expected to be as subservient to the Communist party of the Soviet Union as any Italian was expected to be subservient to Mussolini.

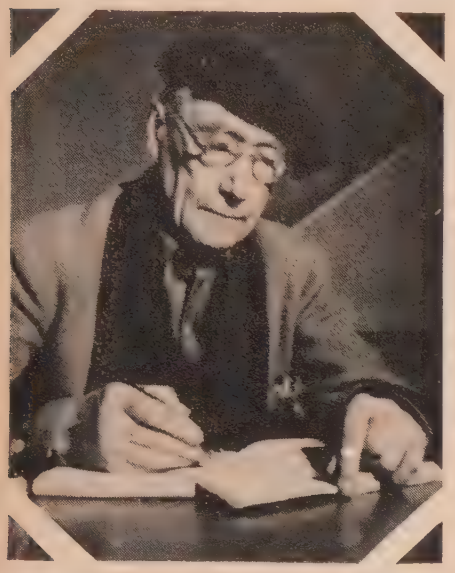
But then came the Spanish Civil War. In Barcelona and Madrid I met scores of the finest young Europeans imaginable. Men who had come from every class of society and from ev-

# Album of the Disillusioned

LOUIS FISCHER, American expert on USSR, a former friend, now bitter critic of the Soviet.



WALTER DURANTY, the brilliant English foreign correspondent, left disappointed after many years in Moscow.



ANDRE GIDE. French novelist and Nobel Prize-winner. In *Retour de Russie* he recanted his faith in Communism.

IGNAZIO SILONE, noted Italian novelist, is now a leader of the moderate Unitarian Socialist Party.

ARTHUR KOESTLER, Hungarian novelist whose *Darkness at Noon* dramatized his revolt against Bolshevism.

ery country in order to fight and to die. There has been nothing else like it in my lifetime. The Spanish Republican Army was a rabble. Its acts of cruelty were quite as revolting as those of Franco's troops. Its indiscipline was appalling. Its ministers quarrelled and jostled for power within the sound of hostile guns. And yet people all over the world realized that this was one of the important struggles of history, and that they must be either for the impoverished and struggling masses or against them, either for selfish and reactionary privileges or against them.

And the brains behind the Republican forces were Communist brains. On my first visit to Spain during that Civil War—in September 1937—I was frequently bombed and machine-gunned by German and Italian aircraft but I met only one Russian—the Soviet Ambassador, Rosenberg (subsequently liquidated by his Communist compatriots). But the Communists, here as elsewhere in Europe, had discipline. They automatically took over the political leadership and, by degrees, the military leadership as well. Probably Soviet prestige has never been higher—not even during the siege of Stalingrad—than it was during the first year of the Spanish Civil War. And British and French prestige had sunk nearly as low as it sank at Munich. The Popular Front for a time almost dispelled the deep-rooted distrust between Socialists and Communists, between the Second and the Third Internationals.

But the later years of the war shattered many dreams. Intellectuals who hated Fascism as much as any Communist—men like George Orwell and E. M. Forster—were revolted by the sight of the Communist Party in action against the Trotskyist "P.O.U.M." and the anarchist groups that wanted to retain their identity. The cynicism and ruthlessness that were employed were no novelties in-

side the Soviet Union, but at that time few of us had had the melancholy chance to see how far the Russians had fallen short of their own ideals.

### *The Last Straw*

The Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, of course, was the beginning of the end. The Russians had been loudest in their condemnation of Hitler, and were the first of their own free will to make an agreement with him—an agreement which turned the traffic lights green for the juggernaut of war. The wishful thinkers argued that the Anglo-French refusal to combine with Russia before Munich had compelled Stalin to take measures of self-defense. They held to that argument to excuse the Russian occupation of half of Poland and the attack on Finland—one of the most disgraceful acts of aggression in this dismal century. But those who were fellow-travellers and yet also patriots at last realized that Soviet Russia had become an imperialist power, interested in talking about equality only because it was useful as propaganda.

Hitler's attack on Russia gave us the last chance of achieving one world, but the joint distrust—that of the Marxist towards the Capitalist and that of the Russian towards Europe—were too strong. In August 1941 I went by convoy to Archangel with a wing of the RAF. Here were men in British uniforms coming to help their Russian allies, but there was no sign of welcome on the dour faces of the Russians in the lumberyards along the Archangel River. In Moscow we were allowed to have no contacts with ordinary Russians, and the censorship exceeded—in both strictness and stupidity—anything I had ever encountered in Fascist Italy or Nazi Germany.

Nevertheless, those of us who had direct contact with the Russians were still a tiny minority and the humiliation of the disaster of Dunkirk found relief in Britain in praise of the genuine heroism of the Soviet Union. Those were the days when factory workers would make yet greater efforts if they were told that their tanks, their shells, their aircraft, were going to Russia. The disillusions that had followed on each other's heels ever since the Moscow treason trials had destroyed the confidence of the intellectuals, but not necessarily that of the workers in the gloom of great industrial cities.

It is here that the behavior of the Russian leaders becomes almost inexplicable—or perhaps it can be explained by the fact that fear is the greatest creator of folly. How and why did they set out to dispel the tremendous goodwill they enjoyed in the Western world at the time of the Armistice?

### *Inhumanity Unexplained*

Their ruthlessness towards the Germans; their treatment of Western prisoners-of-war who had passed through their hands; their condemnation as traitors of Poles who had fought gallantly with American, British and French troops on almost every battlefield; their destruction in the Eastern European states of all that we understand by democracy; their hysterical and ill-informed attacks against us at every international conference; their refusal to allow Russian women who had married British men to leave the Soviet Union and to join their husbands. There have been so many such examples of cynicism, cruelty and malice that even in Great Britain, a country faced with appalling economic problems, the Communists polled fewer than 100,000 votes at the recent elections, out of a total of some 28,000,000. The Soviet Government has, it is true, built up a wide barrier of buffer states from the Baltic to the Black Sea, but in the process it has immeasurably weakened the Fifth Columns in every country upon which it could have depended even two or three short years ago. Its rulers, having lost their own idealism, have forgotten the power of ideals as completely as have other dictators in the course of history. "I think that power is saved only from corruption," Stephen Spender has written, "if it is humanized with humility. Without humility power is turned to persecutions and executions and public lies."

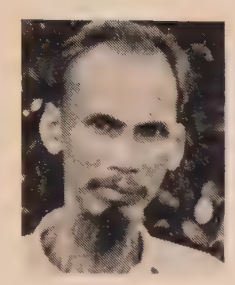
Every so often in the march of mankind the conditions in some country give birth and success to a new idea. Ideas know no frontiers but the political leaders in the neighboring countries invariably try to check their spread by force, thereby strengthening the revolution they seek to destroy. In Russia the support given to the counter-revolutionaries undoubtedly brought to Lenin's side millions of Russians who hated Communism but who did not want to see their country invaded by foreigners or by the old, discredited Tsarists, propped up by foreign gold. And at the same time the workers in each neighboring country were embittered by the knowledge that the wealth created by their labor was being used against the Workers' Republic in Russia.

That weakening of capitalism could have been foreseen from the moment British and other supplies went to the support of Generals Denikin, Wrangel and Yudenitch. But what most of us failed to foresee was that the nature of the revolutionary impulse itself was bound to change. The French Revolution produced, first, equality, then, Napoleon and, later, a series of political rules or traditions which have made the French parliamentary system one of the least democratic in Western Europe.

A stone thrown into a pond creates ripples that lap against the bank long after the water where the stone fell is again smooth and still. Even now the ripples of the Russian Revolution influence the politics of every country in the world, although the high motives that created it had died shortly after the death of Lenin. We asked too much of human nature when we expected the people of any one country to live for years on end at a pitch of revolutionary exaltation. It is because the Russian Revolution aroused such wide hopes that its corruption and decay cause today such deep bitterness.

*Inside Report* ***from the most explosive battleground of Asia.***

Viet Nam is shown in black.

***Is Ho Chi Minh***  ***a Stalinist or a Titoist?***

# Duel for Indochina

***Has Bao Dai*** ***any chance at all to win?***

By ROGER PINTO

***Does a Third Force exist?***

***Is another Greece in the making?***

***Will the fight degenerate into World War III?***

**The author knows equally well the intellectuals, the workers, the peasants and the shop keepers of Viet Nam. He taught and practiced law at Hanoi and Saigon and was a conscripted soldier in the army which fought the Japanese. He is also author of "L'Evolution Gouvernementale de l'Indochine Française." Mr. Pinto recently arrived in the United States from Viet Nam where he witnessed the historic changes of the past months.**

ACT II in the great drama for the control of Asia is unfolding today in Indochina, where two leaders —Bao Dai and Ho Chi Minh—face each other in a knock-down, drag-out struggle for supremacy in Viet Nam. Behind them stand not merely France, but the West and the East, in reality the United States and Russia.

There is no likelihood that either can win a military decision. US recognition of Bao Dai, who is backed by the French Government, and Soviet recognition of the Communist leader Ho Chi Minh, result in one of the most serious situations in the world.

The need for making a choice between Bao Dai and Ho Chi Minh was extremely distasteful to France. It is an alternative that also deeply dis-

turbs both Washington and London. Perhaps never before have greater efforts been made to find a "middle force." Almost everything that has been said about China before the disaster of Chiang Kai-shek could be applied to Indochina today, by merely substituting Bao Dai for Chiang Kai-shek, and Ho for Mao Tse-tung.

Hope for a third force centers on one man—more by reason of his personality than because there is any well-organized popular movement outside the camps of Bao and Ho. If any man pledged neither to Ho nor to Bao stands a chance of emerging as a new leader he is Ngo Dinh Dziem, who was Emperor Bao's Prime Minister during the early 30's, but resigned in protest against the heavy hand of the French Protectorate. When Bao returned and formed a French-sponsored government for the new state of Viet Nam last May, Ngo Dinh Dziem refused to participate.

### *Third Force Platform*

Ngo's brother is the only Vietnamese Roman Catholic Archbishop to be ordained by the Pope. Ngo is a monarchist and a conservative, but his stand is as firmly against Bao Dai as it it is against Ho Chi Minh. Unfortunately perhaps, for Indochina, for the West and for everyone concerned, he is not in a position by himself to rally sufficient strength to impose his will upon both sides.

I have known both Ngo Dinh Dziem and his brother intimately. Here is Ngo's political philosophy and platform, as expressed by himself:

"One: The national aspirations of the Vietnamese people will be satisfied only when our nation has a political regime like that enjoyed by India and Pakistan.

"Two: The present struggle is not merely one for national independence. It is a social revolution for the independence of the Vietnamese peasant and worker, whose sufferings must reach an end.

"Three: Positions of trust in the new Viet Nam must be reserved for those who merit them most because of their resistance to the Japanese."

Because Ngo Dinh Dziem seemed less likely than Bao Dai to marshal sufficient strength to wipe out Ho Chi Minh, the French Government chose Bao for the task.

### *Bao Against the Tide*

Chubby, pleasure-loving Bao Dai, Paris-educated ex-Emperor of Annam, had plenty of misgivings last June when he arrived in Saigon to take up his duties as head of Viet Nam, one of the member states of the French Union. France had not only invited him, it had urged him to go back and form a government. But rumblings that had reached him as far as Geneva, Switzerland, told him that more than 80 per cent of the Vietnamese give unqualified allegiance to frail, bearded Ho Chi Minh, hero of wartime resistance against the Japs and symbol of independence.

The hand grenades, bomb explosions and student demonstrations that greeted Bao's homecoming are remembered as mere forerunners of the dangerous disorders that now keep 175,000 French, overseas and native troops on the *qui vive* in the territory. The casualty list includes some 20,000 dead.

With China in the hands of Mao Tse-tung, Indochina lies directly in the path of Communist expansion into Southeast Asia. The United States, like the French Government, is determined to stop the southward spread of Kremlin influence by all means short of global war. In Bao Dai, the French and those who support their policy are betting on a dark horse. Neither his past record nor his known capacities make him more than a doubtful choice.

It was hoped that Bao Dai could turn the trick of winning his people over to a Western democratic regime. The Vietnamese are far from being Communists, and he shares with them their urge for national independence. Before consenting to go back last year he drove as sharp a bargain as possible with the French Government —insisting that Viet Nam be given a large measure of freedom and autonomy within the French Union, and that it include Cochin-China in the south, as well as Tonkin in the north and Annam along the coast. He could not hope to succeed in winning for it those essential attributes of a sovereign nation: control of its foreign policy and its war-making functions. Moreover, it remained subject to the broad coordinating powers of a French High Commissioner for the whole of Indochina, which includes the other two states of Laos and Cambodia as well as Viet Nam.

Most Vietnamese, who have been crying aloud for liberty, denounced this whole arrangement as a sham. Bao Dai has been unable to assume active control. Competent observers estimate he has no chance of doing so without direct, immediate military assistance from the United States. And they point out it could not take the form it did in Greece, where financial aid and armaments sufficed to help hold back the spread of Communism. Ho Chi Minh's personal prestige is overwhelming among nationalists of all shades of political persuasion. To end the power of Ho might require a half million fighting men that France cannot possibly furnish. Native troops are not reliable. Many Frenchmen seriously suggest that the troops would probably have to be American.

If Bao, with French military support, is unable to oust Ho Chi Minh, the latter is likewise unable to achieve absolute control and authority in his "Democratic Republic of Viet Nam." His efforts to do so constantly result in bloody clashes with French forces, and are hampered by widespread fear on the part of the populace. Meanwhile the simultaneous governmental activities of the rival chiefs of state exert almost unendurable pressure. Every town has Ho Chi Minh representatives working underground, and most villages have their "daytime" mayor and their "nighttime" mayor who takes over for Ho after the sun sets. Both regimes levy taxes on the impoverished people.

Ho Chi Minh, now almost impregnable, is a curious product, not only of native influence, but of France, of Russia, and of the American forces in China during World War II. The latter gave him his real start toward the position he now occupies.

Now in his late fifties, Ho was better known throughout most of his life as Nguyen-Ai-Quoc. In his youth he had been fired by revolutionary propaganda aimed at freeing the Vietnamese from French colonial domination. After service in the French Merchant Marine during World War I, he settled in Paris, worked for a while as a photographer, joined the Communist Party after the Congress of Tours in 1920.

### *Ho's Road to Moscow*

Three years later he was sent as a delegate of the French Communist Party to the International Labor Congress in Moscow, and remained there as colonial representative of its Permanent Committee. Early in 1925 he is said to have gone to Canton as staff attaché to Chiang Kai-shek's Soviet adviser, fleeing back to Moscow after Chiang's split with the Communists.

A year or so later he was in Siam, organizing the Communist Party of Indochina. This was formally inaugurated in Hong Kong in 1930. Here, from 1931 to 1933, the British imprisoned him for his revolutionary activities. In 1941 he reappeared at Liuchow, China, under the name of Ho Chi Minh, which translated means "the Enlightened One."

In Liuchow, which is close to the border of Viet Nam, there were at that time large numbers of Indochinese revolutionaries and nationalists who had escaped across the frontier. Ho Chi Minh organized them into the Viet Nam Independence League, popularly known as the Viet Minh, pledged to fight both Japan and Vichy for the victory of the Allies and the independence of a "democratic Viet Nam." In 1944 Ho offered his cooperation to the Allies. In return he asked—particularly from the United States—military support and ultimate recognition of the independence of Viet Nam under the Atlantic Charter.

The Americans made no promises, but those in Kunming did begin supplying the Viet Minh resistance fighters with arms. The Viet Minh began guerrilla warfare against the Japs in northern Tonkin. They helped American pilots shot down in Indochina to escape, and they fought with American equipment parachuted to them.

From 1943 on, Ho Chi Minh was in Indochina, at the head of the Viet Minh resistance forces. Late in 1944, an American pilot flew him to China, where he called on General Claire Chennault in Kunming. His resistance movement in Viet Nam had grown into a fairly powerful organization, with an army of some 10,000 men. Ho's right hand man, a young lawyer named Vo Nguyen Giap, became its unexpected military tactician, with a genius for the conduct of guerrilla warfare.

With the capitulation of the Japanese in August 1945, the guerrillas entered Hanoi, raised the red and gold starred flags of the Viet Minh, and persuaded Emperor Bao Dai, who had collaborated with the Japanese, to abdicate. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was declared, and Ho Chi Minh assumed its Presidency. The Indochinese Communist Party had been dissolved. Ho's supporters saw in him only the great Resistance leader and nationalist.

### *Hobson's Choice for France*

There was wide difference of opinion between metropolitan France and the French officialdom of Indochina concerning the wisdom of making an accord with Ho Chi Minh. Government circles in Paris were inclined to deal with him, though the Socialist and Communist Parties were afraid to push too hard for an independent Viet Nam, lest it lose them supporters at home. Most of the French bureaucracy in Indochina was against him. It favored restoration of the monarchy of Annam with Bao Dai, and its extension to Tonkin and Cochin-China, also Annamese in population. It saw a modified form of French Protectorate as the surest means for unifying Viet Nam, avoiding social revolution and safeguarding economic and financial interests. Bao would be easily managed, and the continuance of French authority would thus be assured.

### *The Peace That Didn't Last*

In Indochina, only General Leclerc, Commander-in-Chief after the war, and his advisers believed that an accord with Ho Chi Minh was possible. Yet at the time it seemed the only course open. Discontent, the impact of war and occupation, had bred in the population a deep aspiration for liberty. Abuses under the monarchy were still fresh in mind.

On March 6, 1945, a Franco-Vietnamese treaty was signed at Hanoi in the name of the French High Commissioner, Admiral d'Argenlieu, and President Ho Chi Minh. It recognized the independence of Viet Nam within the French Union.

Cochin-China was to have been included in this new Viet Nam state, but only after a plebiscite. When the French authorities, without a plebiscite, decided to set it up as a separate republic, insurrection flared again in the south. There were widespread clashes between the French forces and the Viet Nam guerrillas. While Ho was in Paris for talks on the implementation of the accord, Vo Nguyen Giap, now his Minister of Defense, launched a campaign to liquidate opposition parties in Viet Nam. Out of this bloody contest the Viet Minh emerged supreme, but the French government lost its confidence in Ho. It feared he would bring not only independence but also Communism to Viet Nam. As a result it cast about for another candidate.

Ex-Emperor Bao Dai had little chance of returning to Viet Nam and forming a government that could gain popular support and offer real opposition to Ho Chi Minh, unless he could obtain greater concessions than had been won by Ho. He was successful on one point: the inclusion of Cochin-China in Viet Nam. But his agreement with the French Government implied a lesser degree of sov-

ereignty than Ho had obtained.

Many in France as in Viet Nam now appear to believe that Ho's government is not of the traditional communist pattern—or that if communist, its extreme nationalist tendencies make it more of the Titoist variety, and not an apt servant of Kremlin influence. This view was strengthened by Ho Chi Minh's recent bid for recognition by Tito's Yugoslavia. It is further pointed out that Ho's sixteen-member cabinet includes only five Communists. These are: Pham van Dong, Vice-President; Vo Nguyen Giap, Defense Minister; Le van Hien, Minister of Finance; and Nguyen van Too, Minister of Labor, Non-Communists in the cabinet who exert great influence are: Phan Ke Toai, Minister of the Interior, and Vu dinh Hoe, Minister of Justice.

On the other hand, those who see in Ho's "Democratic Republic" a door open to the spread of Soviet Communism throughout southeast Asia, are profoundly concerned by the impotence of the Bao Dai government, and by the fact that even in Bao's cabinet there are supporters of Ho.

What the French Government — and perhaps the world—inherits today is the fruit of a long series of mistakes in colonial policy, both before and since the war. Politics and economics are closely linked. The French Government now has the blueprint for a "Marshall Plan" for Viet Nam it would like to apply if peace is restored.

Indochina is one of the three great rice-growing and rice-exporting countries of the world, and rice forms 90 per cent of the diet of the people. Under French rule population increased faster than production of rice, and there was an insufficient effort to apply modern methods to cultivation.

As for industrialization, Viet Nam has some of the requisites: a boundless but unskilled labor supply, raw materials, and a good quality anthracite coal. But progress was slow because the tariff policy was aimed at protecting home industries, especially textiles, iron and steel, and machinery. French monopoly of the Indochinese market for her manufactured goods also prevented to a certain extent the development of textile and metallurgical industries.

There has been enormous increase of rubber production in Cochin-China —but the French monopoly has shown more profit for big corporations than for the natives.

Education has been extended to an elite among the natives, but they were for a long time denied outlets for their talents through self-government and the opening up of administrative posts. The story was one of dangerous frustration. Nevertheless, there are close intellectual and cultural ties between the French and the Vietnamese, and even now the outlook of the Vietnamese is one that has been profoundly influenced by French ideas.

### *France's Futile Sacrifices*

Probably more than 600 billion francs have been poured into Viet Nam thus far — the equivalent of Marshall Plan aid to France. Yet this has produced no tangible results. Ho Chi Minh has been able to buy arms outside Indochina and to continue the struggle. The hard cash for his purchases he has obtained by paying a high rate in piastres for American dollars and gold within the country. He has also sold the rice he collects as taxes to French exporters through Chinese middle-men. All this has meant an unsavory traffic between Viet Minh-controlled and French-controlled areas. The French people may weary in the end of supporting this endless conflict which leads nowhere, and the Vietnamese themselves—nationalists rather than Communists — may come to understand that some day they may be caught between Russia and China. The need to resolve the impasse is made doubly urgent by the fact that French troops in Indochina are needed at home today, if France is to be fully defended at home.

For putting an end to the conflict before it lights the fuse of World War III, a number of solutions are today being advanced:

1. Immediate military aid from the United States in the campaign to suppress the Viet Minh. Lieutenant General Marcel Carpentier, Commander-in-Chief of French forces in Indochina, described such aid a few days ago the "the last rampart against Communism in Southeast Asia." He saw the possibility of a sudden attack against north Viet Nam by "hundreds of thousands of Chinese, eventually backed by Russians." But he warned against aid given direct to Bao Dai, rather than through the French Government. The risk is that American material entrusted to Bao pass quickly into Viet Minh hands.

2. A direct entente between France and the Ho Chi Minh "Democratic Republic," afraid of being choked between East and West. Or if this proves impracticable, conciliation by a third party, such as India. Those who advocate this approach insist that the perils involved in a negotiated settlement with Ho are surpassed by those of continuing to support the Bao regime, which provokes communist intrigue among the very people whom the policy of containment is supposed to benefit.

3. Support by the Western nations of a democratic "third force" in Viet Nam, under Ngo Dinh Dziem, or some other strong democratic leader capable of rallying the Vietnamese people behind him.

4. Some sort of US trusteeship of Viet Nam, under the United Nations. Prince Buuloc, Director of Cabinet in Bao Dai's government, is said to have suggested that a solution of this nature, with guarantees of military protection against aggression such as the US affords the Philippines, would be acceptable. Such a solution would undoubtedly appear as undesirable to the French as to the Americans.

The time for hesitation is short. The troubles of the French Government and of Viet Nam, once viewed as matter for concern only within the French Union, now concern the entire world. They could, in an evil moment, involve the world in flames.

Eyewitness report from France—Keystone of the Atlantic strategy

***On the basis of an on-the-spot inquiry from the vantage point of a visiting Professor at the world-famous Sorbonne, the author throws sharp light on why Communism persists as a vital force in France. Although out of the Government, Communists keep in fighting shape through a tight control of the trade unions and an efficient propaganda organization directed by major literary and intellectual personalities. Their greatest asset is not the power of Moscow but the misery and the lack of hope of vast underprivileged masses.***

# The Secret Of French Communist Strength

By SAUL K. PADOVER
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For the last three years, the Communists have been out of the French government. An illusion has, therefore, been created that they have been defeated. Nothing is further from the truth.

Communism has been only checked temporarily in France. It is still a vigorous movement, growing slightly, and biding its time. There exist certain conditions that play into its hands.

The Communists form France's largest, strongest and best organized political party. They have the biggest single bloc of votes in the National Assembly. Since the Liberation, they never polled less than one-fourth of the total vote in any major election. In the municipal elections of October, 1947, they garnered over one-third (34%) of the ballots cast.

Although as many as 5 million French men and women vote Communist, the party membership is not anywhere near that figure. The best estimate is approximately 600,000, though it may be 800,000. Perhaps half of these form the hard core of the party, the zealots, fanatics, and full-time leaders dedicated to their cause. Their strength is concentrated in the mining areas, in industrial regions, and among agricultural laborers. Indeed, one of the most successful Communist publications is *La Terre*, an agricultural journal which claims a circulation of 300,000.

The Communists derive their strength and influence from two main sources. One is the trade unions; the other, the propaganda machine of the party.

Communists are by no means in control of all the labor unions, but they do dominate the majority. There are three large national trade union bodies and a few smaller independents. The biggest, by far, is the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), which in 1946 had 6,369,000 members. Two years later a large minority of anti-Communists broke away from the CGT and formed its own organization, the *Force Ouvrière*. The third labor body is the Federation of Christian Workers (CFTC), an independent union of Catholics, primarily white-collar employees.

Exact figures of membership of

# French Communist Strength *continued*

these unions are hard to obtain, mainly because each makes wildly exaggerated claims. But the most reliable authorities—for example, the journal *L'Economie*, which studied local plant elections and dues cards—agree that the Communist CGT now has 2,316,000 members; the anti-Communist *Force Ouvrière*, only 350,000; and the Catholic CFTC, 400,000.

It is significant that, first, the Communist union membership is more than three times larger than that of its two chief rivals combined; and, secondly, that both the non-Communist labor bodies have been steadily losing members in the last year or two. The Communist CGT is not merely the biggest union, furthermore, but it is also the most representative as a labor body. Its power is based largely on the industrial and other heavy workers.

The Communists' second source of strength and influence, the propaganda machine, derives to a large extent from the fact that it can use the services of many French intellectuals. Unlike the United States, for example, France has considerable numbers of Communists in the ranks of the educated, such as teachers, professors, journalists, and writers. These lend their skills and their consummate French gifts for articulation to the Communist propaganda apparatus which, directed as it is by expert politicians, is one of the most effective political-intellectual forces in France today. Among the more famous Communist intellectuals in France are Joliot-Curie, the eminent physicist; and Louis Aragon, the well known novelist. There are also distinguished fellow-travelers like the artist Picasso, and the scientist Wallon. It is a tireless machine for the grinding out of Communist, pro-Soviet and anti-American arguments, ideas, slogans, and pat phrases.

"WE WANT TO LIVE" SHOUTS THE BANNER AT A PARIS STRIKE MEETING

What do the Communists stand for? Leaving aside for the moment the crucial question of the extent of their affiliation with Moscow, one may say that they are an extremist radical party. They advocate (1) peace with the Soviet Union—at any price; (2) nationalization of industry; (3) greater social security; (4) complete reform in the educational system; (5) rule by the working class; (6) an extensive housing program; (7) a higher standard of living for the poor; (8) abolition of imperialism. In brief, they want a complete transformation of the whole social-economic system, somewhat along the lines of Poland or Czechoslovakia. "The historic role of the Communists," says their leader, Maurice Thorez, "is to aid the future society disengage itself from the present the way a butterfly casts off its chrysalis."

Does this mean an advocacy of the overthrow of the government by force and violence? On this question, the French Communists, like those in other Western countries, are dialectically evasive. The answer is both Yes and No, and Yes-and-No, depending —on time, circumstance, tactical need, and, not least, Soviet orders.

Although the French Communists are inspired, and probably led, by the Soviet Union, one should not therefore assume that they are nothing but the creatures of Moscow. Such an assumption, too frequently made abroad, could turn out to be a fatal misreading of the situation. French Communists, to be sure, do not deny their love for and attachment to Russia, and particularly to Stalin, "the educator of all Communists in the world" [Etienne Fajon, *Apprendre pour Vaincre*]; but they are also, and at the same time, the cogent and persuasive spokesmen of a large part of the working class.

The majority of France's workers, in their present wretchedness, do not seem to care very much whether the Communists who champion their causes and fight for their rights are friends of Moscow or not. To a good portion of the French working class, that is an academic question—and here, also, the anti-Russian propaganda of the democracies still is a

failure. If anything, French workers ask themselves: Can Russia be worse than France is for them? Moreover, many a worker and intellectual is convinced that the Soviet Union, if not a paradise, is a real labor state that is doing everything it can for the working people.

For the essential reason why so many workers vote Communist is bitter poverty and hopelessness. The truth is that the French working class today is worse off than before the War. Wages have been frozen, but not prices. Despite an extensive social security system and various family allocations, working people cannot subsist on their present earnings. They live in wretched homes which, in the industrial cities, are generally substandard. Among the poorer-paid workers there is widespread bitterness and frustration. They vote Communist, because no other party offers them anything concrete. They feel they have long been betrayed by the other parties.

On November 21, 1949, the Paris conservative newspaper *Le Monde* printed the following letter from a French worker; it shocked middle class readers out of their complacency:

"Gentlemen:

I have long been a reader of *Le Monde*. I noticed that you often criticized the Soviet Union without proof, to the effect that one lives badly there; that forced labor exists. Well! In France one sees 'terror' and 'famine,' yes, famine. I am a father of six children, aged three, five, nine, eleven, thirteen and fifteen. I earn 3,500 francs [about $10] a week, enough to buy food for three days, without meat or butter or eggs. I receive 27,000 francs in family allotments. Altogether that makes 41,000 francs [$112] a month for eight persons. We live in a barracks of two rooms almost never heated. A bag of coal costing 500 francs, we don't often get one. You do wrong, Gentlemen, to criticize the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies . . . For if there is a straw mattress in the Soviet Union, it is but a plank in France. I shall write to the Embassy of the Soviet Union to come and see at my home 'the good French life.' In any case, I tell my children that the employers and the government are nothing but bandits, that it is necessary to work for the revolution which will overthrow this regime of mud and misery. Hate, hate, hate, that is what I teach my children. You eat well, you are well housed; my children tighten their belts. You sleep well; my children sleep on a straw mattress. Having lost everything during the flight [in 1940], I cannot buy everything back. Yes, it is beautiful, the life in France. I shall make propaganda about it. Farewell, Gentlemen, eat well, a day will come soon, for we, we have nothing to lose; on the contrary, everything to gain.

And as I am not a coward, here is my address . . ."

The newspaper sent a reporter to check and found the writer living as he described, in utter misery. The place was a barracks made of plaster. Only the tiny kitchen was slightly

## Why Communists Are Strong in France:

### Wages and Salaries vs. Prices

**ANNUAL SALARIES IN FRANCE**

| Position | Maximum | Minimum | Additional Income |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wage earner (industry) | $ 480.00 | | $ 135.43 per child |
| Member of Parliament | 3,067.42 | | 1,040.98 family exp. |
| University professor | 3,822.86 | $1,828.57 | |
| School teacher | 1,494.30 | 545.71 | |
| Justice of the Peace | 2,322.86 | 937.14 | |
| Letter carrier | 791.42 | 394.29 | |
| Customs inspector | 682.86 | 394.29 | |
| Building guard | 514.29 | 345.71 | |
| Government laborer (skilled) | 1,071.42 | 368.57 | |
| Member of Cabinet | 3,067.42 | | 1,428.57 expenses |
| Government clerk | 837.14 | 411.43 | |
| Post Office engineer | 2,240.00 | 1,022.86 | |
| Coal miner | 928.57 | 457.14 | |

**RETAIL PRICES OF FOODSTUFFS IN PARIS**

| | Dollars | | Dollars |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 doz. Eggs | .89 | 2 lbs. Cauliflower | .46 |
| 1 litre Milk | .11 | 2 lbs. Cabbage | .11 |
| 2 lbs. Bread | .10 | 2 lbs. Lettuce | .33 |
| 2 lbs. Butter | 1.86 to 2.14 | 2 lbs. Beef | 1.29 to 1.31 |
| 2 lbs. Sugar | .27 | 2 lbs. Beef, lesser cuts | .57 |
| 2 lbs. Carrots | .13 | 2 lbs. Bananas | .29 |
| 2 lbs. Potatoes | .06 | 2 lbs. Oranges | .36 |

heated; there huddled the family of eight. The other two rooms were icy, wretchedly furnished. "One large iron bed, covered with a blanket thin like blotting paper. No sheets, no table, no chairs, no closet. In the second room, three rickety beds. Nothing else. The straw is coming out of one mattress. The walls are of an undefinable color. When you touch them, your hand comes away wet." This type of housing, while not typical of France's whole working class, is nevertheless prevalent enough to create a situation of the utmost gravity.

### *A War of Words*

Readers responded with many letters of pity and gifts. The Communist newspaper *L'Humanité* urged that the worker, a plumber, reject the charity with contempt. "Plumber," it wrote, "spit in the snouts of those gentry." A bitter controversy was stirred up. One letter came from a Rumanian refugee, who warned:

> "I wish to avoid any polemics in this letter, but I cannot refrain from remarking to our worker, revolted as he is against the fate reserved for him in France, that if by misfortune a Communist regime were to install itself tomorrow in this country, he would be far from getting what he expects from it. I can assure him, from the experience of many compatriots and thousands of persons in the satellite countries, that what he complains of . . . would be a veritable treasury compared to . . . the way his brother-workers live in the lands on the road to Russification. The two so miserable rooms he now occupies would no longer belong to him. He would have to share them with strangers . . . I think that if our poor worker had had the 'good fortune' to be born in the Soviet Union, in Rumania or in the seven other unfortunate countries of which I have spoken, and if he had wished to draw the attention of public opinion or of the authorities to his miserable fate, as he did frankly, courageously and freely in *Le Monde*, he would not even have had the opportunity to say goodbye to his numerous family before undertaking the hard and long trip to the salt mines and beyond . . . I know that the fate of this worker is one of many such cases that exist, but I want to ask him a single question:—'Could he have the hope of a better future, corresponding to his personal worth, in a Communist country?' I, who have lived in one, can tell him—and it is my duty to do so—that in no other countries except those in the West could he feel himself so free, even though poor, and have faith, despite everything, in a happier future."

It is doubtful, however, whether a realization of misery in another country is sufficient to accept misery in one's own. The Soviet satellite lands may be more wretched than France, but Frenchmen who suffer poverty and indignity either do not care about what happens there or do not believe it. That is only human nature. Every man to his own troubles.

What is the future of Communism in France? Is it still a threat? The answer is that, for the time being, while Communism has been halted, it has in no way been rolled back or even seriously undermined. Quite the contrary. There are some indications that the Communists are quietly gaining strength, largely at the expense of the Socialists.

### *Straws in the Wind?*

Two recent local elections, insignificant in themselves, show which way the wind may be blowing. In October, 1949, the Pas-de-Calais coal miners voted to elect the six members of their union's arbitration committee. The Communist CGT won five seats, with 71.6% of the vote, which was a gain of 2% over the same type of election in April, 1949. The *Force Ouvrière* obtained only one seat, with 17.9% of the vote, a loss of 2.5%.

The Communists were also victorious in two cantonal elections in the same region, in December, 1949, and again at the expense of the Socialists. They came out better, absolutely and percentagewise, than in 1945.

These elections may not be indicative of French opinion as a whole, but they do show that the Communists still have a firm hold over a large portion of the French electorate. Indeed, Communism remains a great power and a potentially explosive force. It would be foolish to try to exorcise it by propaganda or ignore it out of antipathy.

### *Revolt Against Misery*

In sum, one must repeat that Communism is not primarily a Moscow conspiracy; it is also, and perhaps mainly, a revolt against bitter conditions, against the kind of conditions described in the above-cited letter. The strength of Communism is in direct proportion to the prevailing misery and lack of hope. Abolish misery, and you reduce the danger of Communism. Let misery thrive, and you have another China situation.

What, to conclude, are Communism's chances in France? One thing is certain: the Communists cannot hope to win power in any free election; at best they can obtain only one-third of the votes. Can they come to power through a coalition? That, too, is out of the question, for the other parties, but particularly the Socialists, are dead set against cooperating with them. There remains only force. Will they use force to seize power? The answer is: Not so long as the majority of the people, backed by the United States, is against them. One can conclude, therefore, that the Communists have only two possible chances. One is an increase in poverty and hopelessness, which would play into their hands; the other, a shooting war between the East and the West. If that should happen, the Communists would certainly use all their wile and influence to seize power by force, sabotage, and chicanery, and line up France with the Soviet Union. In this they may or may not succeed. It will certainly be a terrific historic gamble.

By NATALIA DANESI MURRAY
*UNW's Correspondent in Rome*

# Man Against Authority

***Giuliano, Sicily's latter day Robin Hood, has withstood the assault of regiments of carabinieri for almost 7 years.***

LAST January 21st, a sixty-two-year old peasant woman, with vivid black eyes and a quick temper, walked out of Palermo's jail into freedom and probably into the arms of her loving son, 28-year-old Salvatore Giuliano, the classic bandit of Sicily.

Maria Lombardo Giuliano had been in prison one year and five months. She was arrested in 1948 on the charge of having "favored" her son on two counts: participation in Giuliano's armed band and extortion and violence against individuals.

After a quick trial in Palermo's penal court where the first and more serious charge was dropped, she was convicted on the last count to a term of three years and four months in prison, plus a fine of 20,000 lire.

At the jail's gate, she was met by her seventy-year-old husband, Salvatore, and a brother-in-law. The trio took the road back to Montelepre, a few miles from Palermo, in the rocky, barren mountains of Giuliano's territory and returned to the Giuliano home, expressly de-requisitioned by the police.

Thus once more Giuliano, the theatrical, megalomaniac outlaw, with 300 crimes on his dossier, including homicides, kidnappings and extortions, who had successfully defied police and government for more than six years, could boast another victory.

The strange part of this Robin Hood epic is that almost all of Sicily's inhabitants are directly or indirectly involved in aiding and abetting Giuliano if only by their complacence.

Giuliano told a Milan newspaperman last November, "I fight to vindicate my mother and the other innocent people, all victims of Scelba" (the Minister of the Interior). Addressing himself to the carabinieri by way of handbills posted all over Palermo he said, "Remember that there can be no family without a mother just as there can be no fatherland without a family. The mother is the apple of

the eye in our lives. And I who feel deeply in my heart what a mother means, I tell you that I will not easily surrender . . . Fighting against me may well be called a fight against motherhood."

In an ultimatum asking for a people's plebiscite last year, he spoke to the Sicilians thus, "Reflect that I do not fight for money but for the love of my mother such as God gave us all, the dearest thing in our lives."

Giuliano's father owned a bit of land in Montelepre bought with the savings of his emigrant days in the United States. Montelepre is a typical Sicilian village, perched high on a mountainous landscape, towering over the Conca d'Oro, golden with orange and lemon groves on the outskirts of Palermo, Sicily's capital.

### *The Big Squeeze*

To understand the miserable conditions in which the majority of the Sicilian peasants live, one must realize that one-third of Sicily's farming land is owned by a few noble families. They rent their land to the *gabellotti* (from gabella or excise-duty), who are often members of the Mafia, and may hire the peasants to work for a few hundred lire a day. The poorer sections of land are normally worked on the sharecropping system by peasants under terms laid down centuries ago. The peasants do not even live on the land they cultivate but walk or ride mules back and forth daily from villages often many miles away. They are furnished no modern tools, no machinery or animals. For seed for spring planting sharecroppers must pay back to the *gabellotti* interest at the rate of 15% a year. For "protection" they must pay another 10% of the crop. Another 10% goes to the Church and 10% for "the use of the path" or right of passage through private estates. It is estimated that there are still 5,000 miles of *trazzere* or private paths in Sicily.

The Mafia or "Honored Society" in return for a system of tribute monies, protects the estates from the bandits, who in turn are protected against the police by the Mafia which supplies the bandits with food and shelter. The Mafia enriches itself at the expense of both masters and servants.

In this climate of privilege, injustice and poverty, young Giuliano was born.

When in 1935 his brother Giuseppe was called to arms, Salvatore quit school to help his father on the land. He was twelve years old.

From twelve to twenty-one, Salvatore dealt in the illegal traffic in olive oil and worked on Fascist fortifications and telephone line installations. With the invasion of Sicily and Italy's defeat brother Giuseppe came back. Those were the summer days of 1943, when disbanded Italian soldiers went into the *macchia* (to flee to the *macchia* means to take to the woods).

Salvatore resumed his illegal traffic, this time in wheat.

On the fatal second day of September Giuliano was caught by the carabinieri with a few bags of contraband flour. Questioned, he refused to talk. When he tried to escape, a carabiniere shot and wounded him in the stomach. Salvatore drew his gun and fired. One carabiniere fell mortally wounded and died later. Giuliano escaped. The AMG (American Military Government) organized a coordinated surprise action against the village on the night of December 23, 1943. The success of the operation seemed sure. But when the police broke into Giuliano's home, he was not there, though his bed was still warm.

### *Cavalleria Rusticana*

The Sicilian population has an extraordinary instinct for connivance which they call *omerta,* a kind of sacred alliance which ties all Sicilians together against outside interference. In his hideout, Giuliano was informed that his father had been arrested. That night, from the dark, shots were fired in Montelepre's little square, killing one carabiniere and wounding another. Giuliano's criminal career as an outlaw began.

Giuliano started to judge, punish and avenge, striking at the police, the rich, and spies.

His first bold action took place a few months later. He attacked the army barracks at Monreale where his cousin and other men from Montelepre had been jailed. He came down from the mountains with a few companions, killed the commanding officer and several carabinieri, looted all the available weapons and freed the prisoners.

Pitiless with traitors and informers, he killed a young peasant who had spied on him. On his body he left one of those notes which became the signature of Giuliano's crimes: "This is the way Giuliano treats spies." Three brothers arrested by the police squealed to regain their freedom. They were found dead with a Giuliano hand-written note: "For spies there is no place in heaven."

Giuliano's reputation for defending the poor against the abuses of the rich which gained him his Robin Hood fame, grew from his early murders. Once some Sicilians complained to him that the owner of Montelepre's general store, Giuseppe Terranova, sold flour at high prices and lent money at extortionate interest. Giuliano took him into the local square, read him his sentence and shot him. He was later informed that Montelepre's postmaster stole money orders sent by relatives in the States. He dragged him out of his office and killed him. Another time he heard that a man stole a cow from a peasant by telling him that he was sent by Giuliano. The next day the man was found dead with a note: "Giuliano does not steal from the poor."

Giuliano is also generous. Someone told him that a widow of a carabiniere killed by him was in great poverty. He sent her 50,000 lire. He always pays lavishly for food and shelter and that is why, he explains, he has to get money from the rich. But he selects his rich victims carefully. He always chooses the least popular and most tight-fisted.

Giuliano's graduation from a common Sicilian bandit to the incredible figure that he is today, in open hostility to the Rome govern-

ment, began with the Sicilian Separatist Movement, which started in 1944 and waned in 1947. This movement, today called the MIS, the Independent Sicilian Movement, a recognized political party with eight members in the Sicilian Regional Parliament, gained momentum in the early post-war days. The Separatists' ambition at first, was to become the 49th State of the US. At that time the slogan scrawled on the walls of Palermo was "Long Live Sicily, the 49th American Star." Failing that, the Sicilian Separatists more reasonably envisage an independent Sicily federated in a combination of Mediterranean states.

It is generally granted in Sicily that the Separatists at the beginning were backed by a subtle British campaign when Churchill favored striking at the "soft underbelly of the Axis." Sicily, detached from Italy, might have been a base for operations. Sicilian Separatism, thus encouraged, blossomed forth. Ebullient youths went as far as forming their own revolutionary band, the EVIS, the Voluntary Army for Sicilian Independence, which openly fought against regular Italian troops.

EVEN now, Giuliano often brazenly struts down this street of his native Montelepre.

At this point the Separatists enlisted Giuliano. In order to divert some of the troops ready to attack the small Separatist band entrenched in the east, Giuliano conducted several raids against police barracks and forces in the western zone.

According to Giuliano's own story, "The Separatists looked for me because they needed men who were ready for anything and I looked for them because I believed in their political ideas. They naturally promised me freedom once the island became independent. I told them that I intended to ask American help because alone they would have been declared outlaws, which is exactly what happened." In actual fact, Giuliano wrote President Truman asking for guns and tanks.

So Giuliano began enlisting men for his band which in theory was later to be integrated into the Sicilian army. In order to support his men he committed robberies to pay them. "We thought we were the protagonists of Sicily's resurrection." But when the Separatists were outlawed and disbanded, Giuliano felt betrayed: "They promised me freedom and I had turned forty free men into bandits."

In the elections of June 2, 1946, the Separatists received 168,000 votes. In the regional elections of April 20, 1947, they polled 170,000 votes. It is thanks to the Separatists that Sicily today has its autonomous Regional Government and its own Parliament. For his part in this limited victory, Giuliano with the rank of colonel in the EVIS army was regarded as a national hero.

But after 1947 things began to change. In the elections of April 18, 1948, the Separatists lost three-quarters of their votes. The Christian Democrats won a large majority.

Between 1947 and 1948 Giuliano was approached by members of all political parties, eager to enlist his support at the coming elections. After the Separatists came the Communists, proclaiming that Giuliano was "a son of the working class, a victim of the bourgeoisie and bad government."

### *Everybody Loves a Bandit*

Today in Rome the names of several deputies and senators, with an under-secretary included, are often mentioned in connection with Giuliano. A former Separatist deputy to the Rome Parliament said a fortnight ago that Giuliano had delivered the entire Montelepre vote to the candidate of the Christian Democratic party.

Giuliano himself openly stated: "Those who made me promises should not believe that these promises will never be known. I have a diary in a safe place, ready to bring out at the proper moment. It is very interesting. Not many people would be glad to see me taken alive. Only the dead do not speak. But I am not afraid. My destiny has been written by the fates."

This is doubtless the reason why Giuliano is still free. His great network of "friends" among the barons, the monarchists, the separatists, the communists, the Christian Democrats, together with the general wall of silence surrounding him, these all protect him.

Toward the end of November 1948 a young Swedish newspaperwoman, Maria Cyliakus, who said she wanted to meet "the most popular and interesting bandit of postwar Europe" decided to find him. Armed with a topographical map of Giuliano's region, she roamed Giuliano's beat. She left Montelepre and went to the next village of Montanello. After two hours of walking in the open countryside, she was suddenly met with, "Hands up!" A handsome, young man with black hair and "a sensuous mouth," wearing riding breeches, an American army shirt and a sport jacket, stood in front of her. He was Giuliano. In giving her story to the papers, Maria Cyliakus wrote: "He is handsome. Film producers would be charmed by his manly figure. His face is open and sincere. He has a ready smile. Giuliano's life is a poem of violence." She remained three days and three nights with the bandit.

# Man Against Authority *continued*

In March 1949 Maria Cyliakus returned to Sicily. She had an appointment with Giuliano for the sixth. But he was not there to meet her. She roamed the hills again. The police found her a few miles from Montelepre and arrested her, reputedly because she lacked the proper identification papers. She was angered by the police questions. According to the newspapers she insulted the police, broke windows, injuring her wrists, and tried to escape. She was finally jailed on charges of "outrage and resistance to the forces of public order and damages to a public office bureau." She then threatened the police. "There will be trouble for whoever interferes with me. My friend Giuliano will avenge my arrest." Many in Palermo believed that Giuliano would turn up to liberate her. He didn't.

Red-headed, bright-eyed Maria Cyliakus was also found to be in possession of her own photograph on which she had written for her "Homeric hero, the purest cavalier of our times," a dedication that said: "To Salvatore Giuliano, more afraid of a woman than of anybody, police included."

After the arrest of his family, Giuliano instituted a terrible program of retaliation.

To support his band, to provide food and shelter, weapons, arms and silence, Giuliano resorted to extortion letters addressed to the wealthy. If not answered he kidnapped them, requesting amounts varying from 30 to 60 million lire, following a careful study of his victims' economic status. Giuliano seemed to possess such accurate information that the Palermitans said that "Giuliano's brain is outside his skull."

For a while in Palermo there was a regular totalizer that laid odds on which rich man would be kidnapped next. An aristocrat who, according to rumor, had received a letter of extortion, saw his quotation suddenly go up on the betting machine and then drop. It seems that Giuliano hastened to explain that his extortion letter had not been addressed to the aristocrat in question whose lands were known to Giuliano to be heavily mortgaged, but to a man of the same name, with no heraldic titles but more money. Giuliano had heard that the aristocrat had been exploiting his Giuliano rating to obtain further bank credits.

A Palermitan friend told me, "Jack Warner cabled me that Giuliano can have a contract with him anytime he wants it." It is a well known fact that Giuliano is interested in motion pictures.

It is impossible to give a list of Giuliano's victims because they will not talk, but they number more than a hundred. Though Giuliano's wealth

**MORE than 5000 carabinieri are hunting for Giuliano among the barren rocks of Sicily. At least 70 have been killed. In this dramatic picture, a posse surrounds a stone hut where the bandit was reported in hiding. But, as usual, he was gone.**

is estimated at one billion lire, about one and three quarter million dollars, he declares that he has lost all sense of values. Ten million lire, he says, last him fifteen days.

It is well known that Giuliano spends a great deal of time in Palermo itself. For this he has a regular city wardrobe. He usually wears a lounge suit of shepherd's plaid. Palermitans say that he has well-kept nails, uses hair lotion, has a collection of smart sweaters and sport shirts. Photographs show that he has definite Latin chic and elegance of attire. He is a little above average height, has dark, deep-set eyes and a dark yellowish complexion. According to the Italian journalists, he wears a remarkable gold belt buckle. It features a lion for strength, an eagle for intelligence and between them a star "for luck."

In the middle of April 1949, Giuliano sent a letter to Minister of the Interior Scelba: "I challenge any ten people of the Government or delegated by the Government to a fight to the last drop of blood against me, single-handed and before a jury of neutral foreigners. If I die you'll be rid of me. If I live you will hand over to me the reins of Government."

To this the government answered with the greatest manhunt ever staged. The police chief announced: "No serious man would try to foretell the future but Giuliano's capture might occur any day now." Rumor of his apprehension was so widespread that reporters and photographers from all over gathered expectantly in Palermo. One skeptical newspaperman in Rome told a colleague who had received orders to leave for Palermo, "Don't move. You would do better to wait in Rome for the capture of Minister of Interior Scelba." Giuliano was not captured.

Later in the summer occurred the slaughter in the Bellolampo region. Here two truckloads of carabinieri were blown to bits on the road and the car of the chiefs of police and the carabinieri escaped destruction by a miracle. This event shook all Italy. The Press and Parliament were in an uproar. Prime Minister De Gasperi and Minister of Interior Scelba, who were on summer holiday, hurried back to Rome for emergency decisions. In Palermo the Archbishop, Ernesto Cardinal Ruffini, went alone to Montelepre to try to persuade Giuliano to give himself up "for pity's sake." Giuliano, who professes to be a devout Catholic, sent him a written message: "Very Reverend Eminence, I cannot accept your invitation because the laws which weigh my guilt make no provision for also establishing that share of the responsibility which rests on the police, for what I have done."

Because of the Bellolampo mass killing, the Communists attacked the Rome government's inefficiency and its inability to restore law in a zone which was not in central Africa, but only a few miles from a large and illustrious city.

The Liberals who were holding a Congress screamed, "What kind of Government is this, that cannot even cope with one bandit?"

The liberal press thundered: "This is a question of the prestige of the State. It is useless to demand that Italy be allowed to return to power over its colonies in Africa when it is impossible for Italy to keep order and security in its own home."

### *The Master of the Hounds*

It was after the slaughter of Bellolampo and the furore it aroused that Colonel Luca assumed the direction of the operations in Sicily. An able officer of the Secret Military Service, several times decorated for valor in action, Luca organized his new volunteer carabinieri into small mobile squads, with radios, cars and dogs. He divided Giuliano's territory into a patchwork across which his men and material could move swiftly and with coordination. His volunteers were selected for their competence, courage, skill and morale. They were also chosen among bachelors to avoid making widows and orphans. Orders for Luca's men are sealed and secret as in war actions.

Many of Giuliano's affiliated bandits have been caught. Yet Giuliano is still free and he still has the upper hand.

In a recent gallant letter of thanksgiving sent to the *Giornale della Sicilia,* published five days after his mother's liberation, Giuliano thanked the judges and the magistrates of Palermo. For the first time the bandit spoke of peace, of comprehension and of forgiveness. He regretted the injustice which had been done to his beloved mother but blamed no one.

To the Attorney General he posed a deep problem: "How," he asked, "can a man who has been forced on an evil path be accused, when the forces of evil were created by the same law that demands their punishment?"

### *Nobody Loves a Bandit*

Today, after Giuliano's sixth year of crime, the Separatists are trying to break off their original love affair with Giuliano. The Communists say he is simply the result of social injustice. The Liberals call him a bandit and national disgrace. The Christian Democrats say that he is a bandit all right, not because of social conditions but merely as a result of his own psychology. They also defend the Christian Democratic government's failure to capture him by saying, "Look, he isn't giving any trouble now. For four months he hasn't done a thing." The ex-Fascists blame Giuliano on the British who backed him as part of the Separatist movement and they also blame him on the Americans for having restored the Mafia to its former power.

The Church has also made an informal statement. The parish priest of Montelepre summed up the case of the bandit Giuliano in these few wise words. Throwing his hands to the sky, the padre exclaimed: "And all this for a few bags of flour!"

*A UNW Exclusive:*

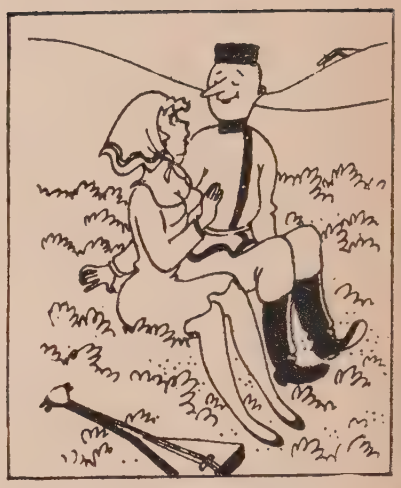
INSIDE ALBANIA

By NERIN GUN

*See p. 30*

**EDINBURGH**

Fair exchange is the secret of love . . .



**NIZHNI-NOVGOROD**

You've revolutionized my heart.

# Love Around the World

**PAPEETE**

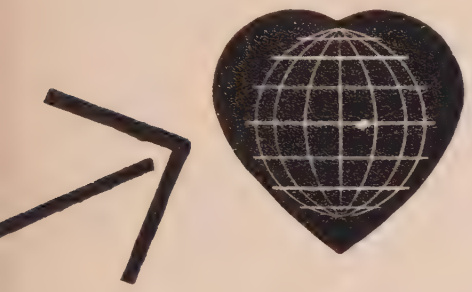
You're the best-dressed woman on the island.

**BOMBAY**

The Fakir takes a wife.

**MEXICO CITY**

You're the world's most disarming woman.



**BERLIN**

Sorry, I'm a terribly occupied woman.

**PARIS**

*By Bernard Aldebert*
*From Samedi Soir, Paris*

Everyman's Life in The Soviet World

*Second in a series of exclusive articles*

Although the Albanian frontier is practically sealed, Nerin E. Gun, an internationally known newspaperman, recently succeeded in entering this isolated outpost of Communism. In his investigation of Albanian life under Enver Hoxha's dictatorship, Mr. Gun was greatly helped by his Turkish origin and background which assured him sympathy and confidence. He had met many of his Albanian friends in the German concentration camp at Dachau. Now in Tirana, they assisted him in writing this story. Mr. Gun found that the Russians were both starving and industrializing Albania and that most Albanians are neither pro- nor anti-Communist.

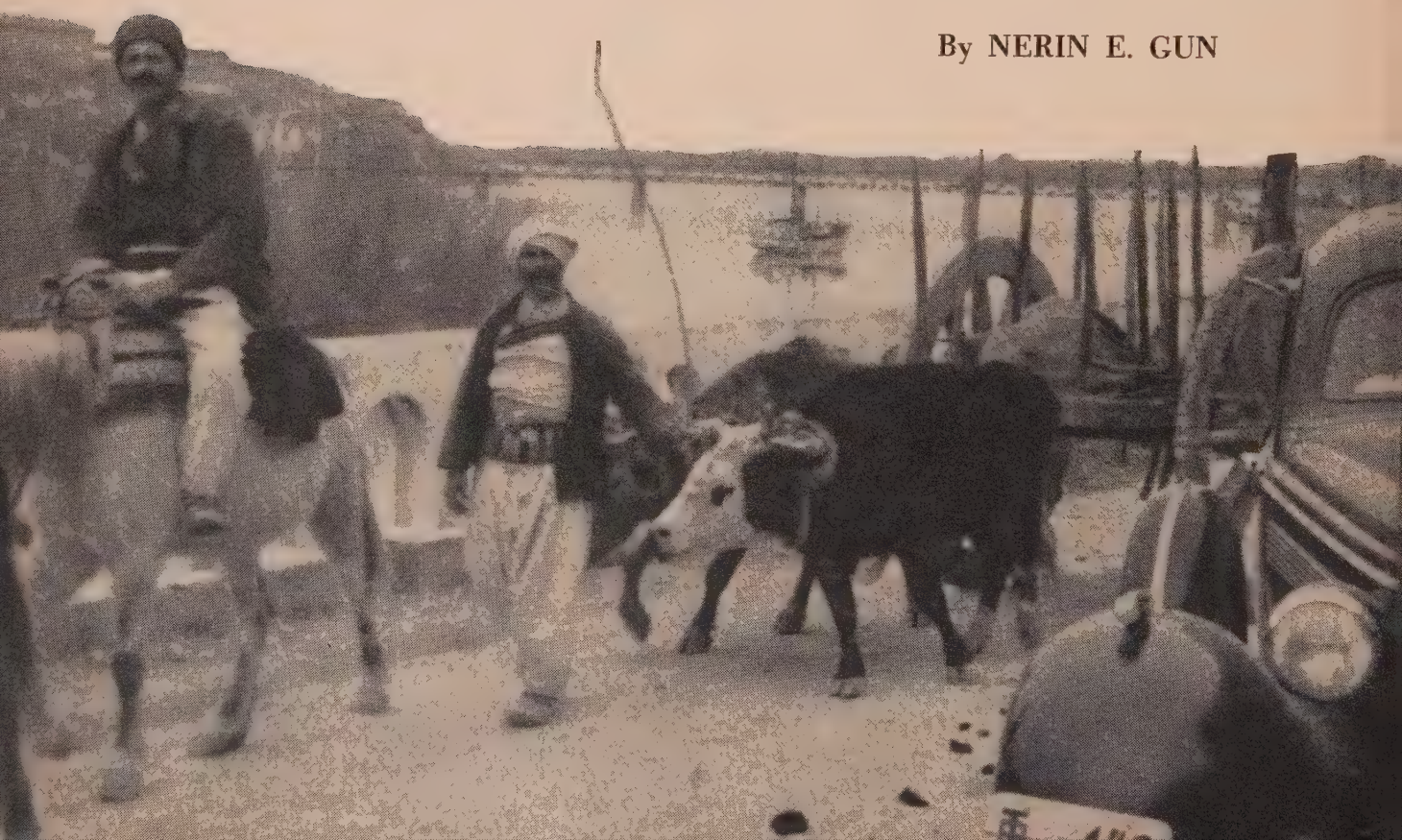
# An Albanian Counts His Comm

By NERIN E. GUN

As THE servant was lighting the stove, Koxho Karamanli awoke and heard the sharp sound of the Bora, the mountain wind that whips Tirana from the east. He shivered. The wind meant he would need more coal. Luckily, as a public employee he was one of the very few people in Albania who could get it. What worried him was that the drop in temperature would give his wife another attack of malaria. Quinine was a thousand times scarcer than coal and he would have to barter his oil and sugar ration on the black market to get some. The Tirana pharmacies had been without basic drugs ever since UNRRA had moved out. Even aspirin was rationed.

"Ah," Koxho sighed, "now if the Yugoslav night planes would only drop quinine instead of propaganda leaflets . . ."

He raised the wooden shutters, a souvenir of Ottoman Turkish rule,



useless now since harems were abolished. Lowering the shutters at night gave him the illusion of being safe from the secret police, from inquisitive neighbors and, best of all, from knowing what was happening in the streets. For the police had a way of arresting people at night. And Enver Hoxha disliked open trials. Undesirable people seemed to die of an automobile accident, a loose tile falling from a roof, a drunken brawl.

Koxho helped the maid with the fire. She was not called a servant, for the new social law forbade the employment of servants. But Communist Party members and government officials were allowed the old Oriental custom of "adopting" a girl.

Breakfast was barley toast, goat cheese and tea of camomile and peppermint leaves, because Koxho had used his tea ration to buy army shoes for his son. For a novelty, the electric current did not suddenly go off this morning, as it usually did. Koxho switched on his radio. The program was in Russian, probably news for the members of the Soviet Commission and their families. However, it was the only station he could tune in on. Koxho had one of the few radio sets in Albania, a rebuilt German *Volksempfänger*. Once he had even heard the "Voice of America" in Greek but the reception had been very poor.

His son Nuri and the little Nedjla came downstairs, exchanging Russian words. With the simplicity of their age, they had realized that Russian was the most important subject in their class and were already proud of their Russian. In a way Koxho too was pleased that his children, in a country 85% illiterate, actually spoke a foreign language. But he was afraid that if his son were too proficient he would be sent off to Moscow, as 350 other promising youths had lately been. Failing that, he might be conscripted for the Albanian army by Hoxha.

The janitor next door came in with a Communist Party leaflet. Koxho knew this was just a pretext to snoop, for Giorghi was the Party ward leader for the street, a sort of local permanent spy. However, Koxho knows that Giorghi secretly sells the banned Yugoslav newspaper, the Belgrade *Borba*, which once had a large Albanian circulation.

Koxho knows he is lucky to be able to rent his house from the state. As a customs inspector, he is a member of the privileged class. His monthly salary of 3,250 Albanian francs ($65) is far above the average. Indeed, in some ways the Communists have helped Albania. Unemployment has disappeared. Everybody works. Symptoms of laziness are enough to get a man sent to a concentration camp. Some road gangs work twelve hours a day, seven days a week. Wages are above the pre-war level but they buy very little, as non-rationed goods are prohibitively expensive. What saves Koxho is his First Category card. Only government employees, the 40,000 members of the Communist Party (Labor Front) and skilled workmen have this card and the use of the cooperative.

# unist Blessings

For all his luck, Koxho does not look prosperous. His suit is worn through at knee and elbow. His shoes are mended with cardboard and leather fixed with heavy nails, as the shoemaker takes six months to resole a pair of shoes. But many of his friends have no shirts at all, no ties, no hat. For them an old German or Italian uniform is a Sunday outfit.

In his worn suit, Koxho strolled through the aristocratic part of Tirana, admiring the yellow and rose villas, the painted shutters and the palm trees behind the iron grille fences. These were built by Italian Fascists and then commandeered first by the Gestapo and Oberkommando staffs, then by the Yugoslavs and now by the Russian experts.

"Who next?" wonders Koxho philosophically.

Beyond is the diplomatic section along Liega Boulevard, but all the Western missions have left, except the stubborn French. The Soviet Embassy is outside this area, a great concrete blockhouse surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by soldiers with tommy-guns. Outside it, a soldier was repairing the motor of a German Opel-Admiral car. Though the Soviet Embassy has several American cars, it seems to prefer the little Italian or German cars to negotiate the narrow Tirana streets.

Koxho is rather pleased with a story he has heard about N. Arbatov, the chief of the Soviet technical mission, whose old Packard one day got a flat tire. A stranger approached and in a Russian blended with Italian, Greek and Serbian offered to help.

"I happen to have two tires, exactly the same size, American, new. I'll sell them for ten gold coins." (Here as everywhere in the Balkans, the standard currencies in black market dealings are and have been ever since the war the Turkish gold rechadye, the British gold sovereign or the Maria-Theresa thaler.*)

The Russian accepted and followed the man through winding streets for some time. Finally the stranger stopped and told Arbatov, "You wait here. Me go fetch tires."

Some time later the man returned with two tires in excellent condition. The Russian paid. The stranger pointed the way back and left.

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*The Maria Theresa thaler, a silver coin about the size of a silver dollar, is still legal tender in Ethiopia, Muscat, Oman, East Africa, Aden and is accepted not only in the Balkans but as far away as Bombay. Since 1751, Austria has minted 247 million of them, of which at least 100 million are still in circulation, but they are no good in Austria today. Italy, England and the USSR have also minted them. Why the archaic coin has such authority among the Moslems is inexplicable. The Arabs call it the Austrian thaler or "the bird's thaler" *(rial abu tair)*, alluding to the Habsburg double-eagle on the reverse face.

# Communist Blessings *continued*

The Russian lugged the two tires back to his stalled car. He saw at once that his two good rear tires had vanished. He had just bought his own tires.

Koxho crossed Red Square and walked along the Rrugra Dibra, once Tirana's Fifth Avenue, but the shops are empty today. Every street lamp is crowned with a red star and the walls are covered with Communist slogans. A little while ago the former Rinascenza department store put in its window a leg form painted with a leg cosmetic. Immediately a long queue formed at the closed doors. They thought the store was selling nylons. Except in the severest cold, women in Tirana go barelegged.

Leaving for a trip to Moscow, Albania's real boss, Soviet Ambassador Dmitri Stepanovitch Chuvakin, asked Enver Hoxha's wife, the former school teacher Nedjimi Djuglini, "Which of our Soviet products would you like me to buy for you in Moscow?"

"Oh, Tovarich Ambassador," she replied. "I would be so happy and proud if you could send me a pair of nylons."

Most Albanians are no worse off than before the war, but as Koxho's wife says, "We couldn't afford the things in the shops before, but at least we were happy to know that there were such beautiful things. We always had a hope of getting them someday. Now we have no desires, no hopes, just needs."

It is impossible to buy a stove flue, a frying pan or a pair of shoes. A mediocre suit costs 30 to 40 gold coins, equal to the wage of a chrome miner for six months. A shirt costs two gold coins, a blanket four.

When Koxho reached the government compound, he had his identity checked several times. An X-ray eye scanned him for concealed weapons. The time of his arrival was carefully registered, for he could be indicted for sabotage for more than two latenesses a month. Yet as a customs official he has almost nothing to do since the abolition of the customs union with Yugoslavia. The borders are closed. Forbidden zones, ten miles deep, follow the frontier. Even when the few ships dock at Durazzo and Vlona, customs officers seldom go aboard, for the ships are usually carrying Communist arms or secret materials. Sometimes Koxho is on duty at Tirana's airport, one of ten built by the Italians. There he sees the plane with the hammer and sickle and the initials CCCP, the daily courier between Tirana and Sofia, "the little air-lift" as it is called.

The only contact with the outer world are the parcels sent Albanians by relatives living in Italy or the US. First the political police examine them for bombs and are invariably baffled by dehydrated potatoes and Nescafé. Then the name of the addressee is sent to Communist Party headquarters for filing. Then the customs inspectors slap on their duties, which will average the equivalent of a month and a half's salary. But today there is nothing for Koxho to do, except gossip with his colleagues and draw on a narghile water-pipe.

Koxho went home for lunch. He knows enough not to discuss politics during the meal, since the children have been asked by their teacher to denounce their parents if they hear any subversive talk. Instead he asked them their plans for the afternoon. His wife was going to a Communist Party sewing center. The boy had his pre-military training to do. The girl had a Party meeting.

That afternoon the town was busy. Koxho heard the call of the muezzin from the top of the minaret, but the ancient call to prayer was almost drowned out by the countermarching of a battalion in the square. The soldiers looked well-fed but their uniforms were ragged. They had a strange melange of equipment: Italian rifles, German helmets, a few Russian machine guns, an occasional Tiger-type tank or armored car now made by Skoda. The master of this police army of 100,000 men (a tenth of the whole population) is Enver Hoxha.

The portraits of Hoxha and Stalin are displayed everywhere, and Tito's, a hero until two years ago, is nowhere to be seen. The President elected by the new Parliament, Omar Nisham, has a few of his pictures up too. The elections gave the Communists the usual 98%. Koxho's ballot was already marked. All he had to do was drop it in the box.

The towns are entirely socialized. Visits to the doctor or a pool or seashore resort are arranged by the state; tickets to the movies are distributed by the Communist Party.

The farmers are another matter. They stubbornly refuse to deliver their produce to the government. Yet Enver Hoxha had confiscated the lands of the twelve great families of Albania and divided them among the peasants. Now that they are landowners, the peasants refuse to be collectivized. They oppose truck farming and all suggestions by the government as to what and how they should cultivate. If the peasant is threatened with force, he simply disappears into the hills.

The guerrilla bands already fighting the government include the pretentious Muharrem Bayraktar with the Skanderbeg eagle on his banner, the men of Gjimarkai, the Prince of Miditia, some Ghecs, the Roman Catholic tribesmen north of the Skhumli river and the southern Tsek tribesmen.

Russia has sent some former German prisoners of war, an SS division of 3,500 men, to fight the guerrillas. They also rounded up 4,000 Greek Communists who were first put into the concentration camp at Pali and then sent, via Odessa, to Siberia.

A real menace to Hoxha are the 500,000 Albanians in Yugoslavia, now being organized by Giani Kiriyezy.

Koxho and his friends know little and care less about the Free Albanian Committee or the former National Front of democratic politicians now in exile in Belgrade, Rome and London, headed by Frazheri and Balbo Kombtar.

However, they still have a lively interest in the fortunes of ex-King Zog, which does not keep them from a solid Balkan belly-laugh when they hear that Zog is selling Albanian titles and decorations for pocket money.

STEREOSCOPIC FILM is viewed by enthralled Albanians through red and green goggles. Movie tickets are distributed as a favor by officials of the Communist Party.

Koxho neither approves nor disapproves of Communism. No previous regime was any better. The Russians have the merit that they are scientifically exploiting the coal, iron and chrome mines, drilling for oil, building the first national railroad from Durazzo to Peti. They are organizing an industry in a country where there was none. The first cement factories and canning and textile plants are already in operation. Koxho has entirely forgotten, if he ever knew, that $24,450,000 worth of UNRRA supplies made possible most of the reconstruction work. "We do not have to choose between East and West," says Koxho. "If Tito wins, America will keep him quiet. If Stalin wins, he will protect us from the Serbs and the Greeks."

Stalin is far away, but Hoxha is there. This minuscule dictator has the same round, pasty face as Ciano. He studied in Paris, joined Leftist organizations and yet was hired by the Albanian consul in Brussels. Back in Albania, he taught French in Korcia until he was expelled for his politics. He sold cigars for a living and founded the Albanian Communist Party. In 1940 he went underground and became the leader of the Liberation Army. He was formerly an abject toady of Tito's. Today he is in terror of his own Minister of the Interior, General Shehu, a puppet of Moscow's. It is supposed that both Hoxha and Shehu planted microphones in one another's rooms, both forgetting that the microphones were tape-recorded at the Soviet Embassy.

The people are predominately Moslem but the Moslem imams lost a good deal of their influence by supporting Ibrahim Bicak's pro-German movement for a "Greater Albania." The government is still neutral toward Moslems and the Greek Orthodox but savagely persecutes the 100,000 Catholics. The Apostolic Delegate, Monsignor Ghniny, and four other high churchmen were executed. Catholic churches and schools were closed and all Roman Catholics are constantly screened by the police.

In the evening when Koxho does not have to listen to compulsory lectures by Soviet experts, he visits friends. They all drink raki, the only thing still abundant in Albania. Enver Hoxha is also fond of this aniseed liquor. They say that he drinks it all night and signs government decrees at dawn, dead drunk. Asked by the Russians why he is so fond of raki, he replied, "It helped me to resist cold, hunger and the Germans."

Koxho and his family stroll in the fields on Sunday, his only rest-day, or take the fresh air in the little café nearby. They used to go to the seashore but now the state does not permit such private excursions. Since the rift with Yugoslavia, the cowboy films beloved by Albanians have vanished.

He realizes so well that he is a very lucky man that he directs his whole life to being as inconspicuous as possible. Other women have to queue for hours or even all night to buy fish or bread, but his wife goes to the cooperative store. His ration card gives him 400 grams of poor quality bread a day, a pound of sugar a month, a pound of lamb, some olives, cheese and vegetables. He pays only a few cents (an Albanian lek is worth two cents) for these things which cost a fortune on the black market. Sugar, butter, and meat are practically unobtainable without a ration card. Yet Albania is a primary producer of milk, butter, eggs, meat, corn, olive oil and wool.

The explanation is that everything is exported to the USSR. A third of the school-children have tuberculosis. The mortality index has tripled in the last five years. The Albanians are probably the only Europeans still actually starving five years after the end of the war.

THE SHOW WINDOW OF ALBANIA: The main square of Tirana with, left to right, the Mosque, the War Ministry, the Public Works Office, the Finance Ministry.

*In this study United Nations World advances its continuing efforts to give its readers a factual picture of the world as a whole. Above all subjects, food must be examined in this way. Hunger is a word in every language; and the ways of satisfying it are wonderfully various. The appetite is global; some day the solution may be global too.*

# FOOD: Angel of Peace

By DAVID CORT

THE biggest thing that everybody in the world has in common is that everybody has to eat. In more than Napoleon's meaning, not only an army but all mankind marches on its stomach. And it may be that one way to world understanding is through a visceral understanding of the foods that other people dream about when they begin to feel hungry.

As an American sits down to his breakfast of cold orange juice, scrambled eggs and bacon, a stack of golden-brown wheat cakes with molasses and sausages, and steaming coffee, other people all over the world are sitting down to other sorts of meals.

The quantity and quality of these meals is the secret hidden in the long, dull statistical tables issued every year by the UN's Food and Agricultural Organization. This annual news of the harvest gets smaller headlines than a single murder though it often tells of murder by the millions.

The latest news of the harvest is a relative victory for mankind. For 1949 marked the world's full return to the prewar "normal" from the terrible abyss of 1945. Western Europe had had good weather for a change and its harvest was 30% improved. Asia held its own.

The public lamentations were not about the cereal foods, but the so-called "protective foods," meat, milk, fats and oils which were described as still a third short of prewar totals.

And yet even this complaint seemed without foundation. According to the FAO tables, cattle were above the prewar level, pigs and sheep close behind. The 1948 figures which may interest some people (but do not include the USSR) were: 637 million cattle, 591 million sheep, 235 million

pigs and 60 million horses. The census of chickens, an impossible chore at best, produced the figure of a billion and a half.

This 1949 comeback was thrown into high relief by the disaster that had immediately preceded it. In the year ending June 30, 1948, winterkill and drought had severely hurt the European crop and heavy rains damaged US fodder.

The four great cereal crops before the war ranked in millions of metric tons: potatoes 158, rice 147, wheat 126 and corn or maize 102. By mid-1948 the order had been rearranged to run: rice 140, potatoes 131, wheat 128 and corn 111. In wheat, the weather hurt western Europe worst, cutting the crop about 40% to about half the prewar normal which had been 42 million metric tons.

This deficit was made up by the US which had almost doubled its wheat crop in ten years and added three million more acres in 1947-48, topping Europe's prewar normal and Asia's production. The USSR, which issues no figures, probably does about the same as the US.

All together the four cereal crops, which stood at 533 million tons before the war and were still reeling around 510 in the harvests of 1947-48, have in the last two years hit 608 and 574, up to this spring of 1950.

Some secondary crops filled in the gaps in the diet. Sugar, a great energy food, was 20% above the prewar level, and so was olive oil. Wine, climbing nearly half a billion gallons every year, would soon be back to the prewar five billion mark.

The victory of 1949 seems to say that the world has at last enough to eat, but it does not say that at all. The totals refer to the world as a whole, but the world is not a whole. In many cases the food is separated from the hungry by great distances, lack of credits and trade restrictions of one kind or another. In the US politicians are harassed by surpluses of potatoes and eggs, while half the people of the world die early on a diet of 1700 calories a day.

But the FAO's attempt to set up an International Commodity Clearing House to move the stalled sur-

pluses was killed by the US last December. The committee warned, "We face the prospect of a division of the world economy into two parts. In one half will be surpluses, depression and unemployment; in the other half there will be shortages, hunger to the point of famine, narrowly constricted trade and frustrated hopes."

This seems a reasonable prediction.

To see the problem clearly, however, one must inquire what foods all the people of the world *want to eat.*

A people, like a child, prospers on what it enjoys eating. The science of nutrition is not exact. Scientists disagree on the calorie content of various foods, but they all agree that the highest calorie values are concentrated in such foods as pie, where grain, fats, sugar and fruit are combined in a tasty aggregate.

A nation's eating habits are not necessarily dominated by its flora and fauna. The savage living in the midst of plenty does not eat as well as the civilized man who takes the savage's local delicacies and ships him canned food in return. Meat and dairy products are the mainstay of the strongest, longest-lived peoples. A preponderantly starchy diet seems to go to the ill and stunted.

The great meat-eaters are the meat-growers: Argentina and Uruguay, Australia and the US, followed by a few herdsmen of Central Asia. These are the people who sit down to steak and fried potatoes, ham and eggs, pot roast, chops, spitted lamb or raw ground beef. Probably they eat more meat than is good for them.

In Europe, red meat is most important to England, which has imported it besides raising some of its own. Meat fades progressively from the diet as one moves eastward across Europe and fades still further in Asia.

The British meat has been chiefly mutton, varied with fried fish. They largely ignore green vegetables and go heavy on starch, meat pies and pastries generally. They like the semi-liquid grain dish called gruel or porridge. They are great eaters of special breads, biscuits and buns, the Irish preferring them without leavening. Alone in the world, the English have the custom of "savoury," i.e., after the dessert they eat something nourishing like sausage cakes on fried bread or a cheese soufflé. Here also is a localized tea area, which one leaves behind at the English Channel until one has crossed half of Europe.

British rationing today cruelly cuts this diet to an occasional taste of meat, cheese, butter, eggs and sugar. The meat pies and cheese soufflés are rare and feeble travesties. But perhaps because the English never really enjoyed their food, they seem able to bear it.

The normal meat ration is reduced and broken up in Scandinavia. There, the meat is ground into the form of meat balls and heavily supplemented by fish. Almost the whole of a balanced diet is consumed in the variations of smorgasbord, a buffet of pickled fish and vegetables, meat pastes, cold meats, cheeses and salads. In some parts, children are given for supper the remarkable concoction of hot beer soup with a dollop of whipped cream. Denmark is partial to cream, the rest of Scandinavia to clabbered milk. Norway and Finland go in for berries of all kinds, using them even in soups. Their favorite uncooked vegetable is the cucumber. Finland has its special trick of cooking vegetables in sugar and vinegar.

All through this zone, the bread is usually rye.

Because the Scandinavian fishing fleets are bringing in prewar hauls, Scandinavia is eating fairly well. The milk herds are back to normal, though pigs are still in short supply.

### *The Former Epicures*

The best eaters in Europe in normal times are the nearby Dutch. It is simpler to say that they eat everything. They take in a lot of meat, all kinds of sea food, all kinds of vegetables. From their former colonies, they acquire rice, coconut, pineapple and curries. They love whipped cream and their own superb cheeses. They drink both coffee and chocolate. They sweeten themselves with marzipans and ginger candies. They live well and long.

This diet has been riddled with holes, especially in cheese, milk and butter dishes, but the Dutch work too hard to let themselves starve.

The French are much more subtle with their food than anybody except the Chinese. They are the grand champions of slow cooking (though the Japanese are equally slow in cooking rice) and of all the seasonings, used to bring out the taste of food, not to conceal it as do the English. Their soups get the last virtue out of their scraps. They use meat thriftily, work miracles with chicken and veal and in some areas produce the fish stew called bouillabaisse. They beat up their salads and serve them as a separate course, usually with garlic, vinegar and olive oil. Like the rest of Western Europe, they drink coffee and sometimes linden tea as a nightcap.

A Frenchman gets angrier than anybody else in the world when he lacks even the rudiments of a palatable meal, probably because he really enjoys food. This rage may be the chief factor in the flocking of undernourished Frenchmen to the Communist party. All a Frenchman's taste buds seem to tell him that something is radically wrong when he cannot get enough to eat.

The Belgians eat like the French but put more weight on stews of beef, pork and rabbit with prunes. They get vitamins in endive salads and apples. Their chief soup is of rice. And they seem to be eating better than the French.

Meat in Germany is usually veal or pork, often in the form of dumplings or sausages in countless varieties. The fish, often smoked, are carp and eels. Apple butter or pot cheese often replaces butter on the table. Their favorite vegetables are sauerkraut, potatoes (sometimes as pancakes), lentils, kale and salads. The bread is rye.

Most western Germans today live on noodles, potatoes, vegetable soups, bread and corn coffee, but the sausages and dumplings are returning. The serious shortages are in pigs and poultry.

Elements of the German diet are to be found all through Central Europe. In Switzerland, the fish may be trout and the meat goat. In Austria, the dish is ham and cabbage, with more spinach and much more chocolate, whipped cream and fancy iced cakes. In Czechoslovakia, the cooking is slower and the sauces are sour cream and horse radish. In Hungary a lot more milk and corn meal mush is used and the diet adds noodles, onions, raw cucumbers and cooked balls of flour and eggs, plus paprika in everything. But everywhere in this area are the sausages and dumplings, the rye bread, the pot cheese.

Italy has the second great diet familiar to Americans, including

# Too Much

**SURPLUS POTATOES in the US are dumped, buried, sometimes dyed blue, to keep up the farmer's price on the market.**

**INDIAN GIRL brings the appetite of real hunger to a dry piece of unleavened chappati bread. This is close to a famine diet.**

many Latin-Americans. It is based on "pasta" made in the form of spaghetti, macaroni or noodles. The vegetables are little tomatoes, eggplant, rice and salads. The meat usually comes as sausage. The vegetable soup called minestrone is the secondary filler, after spaghetti. Cheeses and goat's milk improve the diet. As in all southern Europe, olive oil and garlic are generously used.

The Balkan countries get even less red meat than Italy. They substitute fowl and dairy products, cheese and sour milk. They collect nuts. They get their sugar in exceedingly sweet pastries and in fruits.

The Russians get still less meat, though an exception is the southern grazing area where the meat is spitted and roasted. The rest of the country gets sausage. The Russians fill up on rye read, cornmeal mush, hard-boiled eggs and beet and sour cream soup. They too use a lot of dairy products and pot cheese. Their fish are sardines, sturgeon and perch. Their vegetables are cabbage, cucumbers and beets. Like other north country people, they like pancakes.

Most of this holds true of Poland and the Baltic countries now incorporated in the Soviet. But these people used to eat a good deal better than the Russians. The Poles normally got their meat from pigs and turkeys and ate a good deal of candy. The Baltic countries got a lot more smoked pork, goose, fish, boiled potatoes and honey. But all through this area are the rye breads, the beet and cabbage soups, the pot cheese and pancakes.

This is also where tea again displaces coffee, to remain paramount across Asia.

# Too Little

In India, the Moslem third of the population eat lamb, beef, fowl and fish, but no pork. The vegeterian Hindus, who are much more sick and stunted than the Moslems, eat no meat at all but take a little fish. The vegetables for everybody are rice, eggplant and lentils. The bread is the unleavened sort called chappati. Buffalo milk comes as curds and whey. The flavorings are curry, shredded coconut and rendered butter (ghee). But most East Indians consume very little except rice.

China has the world's third great cuisine, considered by many to be the first. Its base is rice. In general, everything else is cut up very fine and small quantities of many things are put into each dish. The vegetables are steamed or cooked briefly in very hot water or hot fat, stirred with a bamboo whisk. The chief meats are pork, baby pig, fowl, rice birds and shrimps. After rice, the soya bean is the chief vegetable, sometimes with the shoots grown.

The level of cooking drops sharply in Indo-China. The meat specialties are monkeys and specially raised Chow dogs. The poor eat almost nothing but rice with a little salt fish and an occasional banana. All through this zone there are two meals a day plus snacks between times.

Japan's diet is based on a combination of rice, raw fish, soy beans and pickles, resembling the Chinese.

Among the natives of the Philippines, as of the southwestern Pacific in general, the favorite meat is pork, possibly because it is generally the only meat. They also like roast chicken or a fish stew.

The Polynesians bake whole pigs and fish. A delicacy is goat eyes. The Maoris eat much the same diet but use more kinds of green vegetables. The Australian aborigines prefer snake meat, dried caterpillars, roots and seeds of all kinds, notably palm seeds. For sugar, they consume the abdomens of honey ants.

The Arab world extending from North Africa to the Middle East has a diet based on rice and thick porridge (cous-cous). The meat is above all lamb, supplemented by goat, fowl and fish. The milk is from camels

# FOOD: Angel of Peace *continued*

and is often cultured. Egypt, however uses fresh cow's milk. Coffee is drunk with the laxative rose water.

The absolute low point in world diets is reached in the rest of Africa.

The Negroes of West and Central Africa rely on boiled and mashed cassava (a starchy root vegetable) over which soup and cooked vegetables are poured. They make a cassava flour paste taken with a sauce (foo-foo). When they can get it, they love honey and the meat of the elephant, antelope and goat.

The Senegalese do a little better with fried fish balls, a sauce of tomato and onions and a fish stew served with a great deal of butter. Their refinements can probably be attributed to contact with the Arabs.

The Hottentots, with no such advantage, live on just rice and millet.

The Zulus subsist primarily on corn, varied with roast sweet potatoes, roast squash, boiled peanuts, sour milk and now and then a goat. They drink tea.

Latin America must be considered in connection with Spain and Portugal, whence they derived the basic elements of their cuisines.

The Spaniards today use very little butter but work into almost every dish they cook a great deal of olive oil and garlic. They fry their rice in oil. They make stews with oil and garlic. They and the Portuguese survive primarily on sea foods of fabulous variety. Their salvation lies in the numerous salads, eaten with bread, and the magnificent fruits. More than most Europeans they drink fresh water and fresh milk.

The Portuguese base their diet on several kinds of beans, a gigantic potato and a sour cornbread. Their cooking is blander than the Spanish.

The seasoning in Latin America is everywhere hotter than in Spain and Portugal and reaches its peak of heat in Mexico. Everywhere there is the same supply of fruits as in Spain, though they are the exotic papayas and mangoes of the New World. There is the same use of peas and beans, of tomatoes, peppers and onions. There is the same reliance on sea food. There is the same drinking of fruit juices, cold water and fresh milk, usually boiled.

The basis of the diet is the cornmeal pancake tortilla, eaten hot or cold. Its support is the black bean.

A seasoning almost as hot as Mexico's blankets the Caribbean area, except for Cuba where it is as mild as Spain's. In temperate Argentina and Chile, the heat goes out of the seasoning and meat comes heavily into the diet.

Brazil has a cuisine of its own, partially descended from the Portuguese. Its base is rice and black beans sprinkled with the flat-tasting toasted mandioc flour.

The unique US diet is famous for its hamburgers, frankfurters, pie and ice cream, sodas, cold drinks, flapjacks and waffles, fried chicken, potatoes and gravy, corned beef and cabbage, salads with fruit and cream cheese, ham and eggs and adaptations of every cuisine in the world, except the African, from borscht to chow mein to spaghetti.

Not all the differences in these many diets point to the need for reform. The FAO, should it ever undertake to feed the whole world properly, would soon find itself in a realm of subtleties and uncertainties.

Some people certainly eat too much and their diet can certainly not be taken as an ideal standard. They would live longer if they ate less. Lack of meat in the tropics is not tragic, for the reason that it goes bad too easily and people do not feel like expending the energy it gives them. Spices are used in hot countries partly to conceal the taste of semi-spoiled food and notably decline in fashion wherever refrigeration has been introduced.

On the other hand, a man can get on very well on nothing but meat, fish and fats in the extreme cold, as the Eskimo do.

But the most important factor of all is that people want what they want in food. A man benefits most from a meal that tastes good to him; and tastes vary widely.

It seems clear, however, that the higher death rates follow the starchy diets: the Congo's cassava, the East African's corn, Asia's rice, Rumania's corn meal mush (mamaliga), Soviet Russia's wheat mush (kasha) and now the potatoes and beans of Europe.

Small amounts of certain well-loved foods might dispel a good deal of the rage of the famished French Communist and set his gastric juices to working happily again. To the Dutch, a brave new world might well be represented by chocolate, curry and ginger candy. The American surpluses of dried eggs would accomplish miracles for the cuisines of a good many European peoples today, and would certainly do the Asiatics and Africans no harm. The UN is already engaged in distributing 105 million pounds of dried skim milk to children in Europe, Asia, the Near East and Central America.

It is seriously suggested that there is more to feeding the world than dumping tonnages of cereals or roast beef or milk on famished people. Scientific analyses may eventually indicate basic reforms in the diets of parts of the world. Certainly, this will be no nine-day wonder, for people will stubbornly resist changes in traditional eating habits.

But it is as true of two billion people as of one man, that the way to the heart is through the stomach. Sympathetic knowledge of what that stomach craves will make the way to the heart a good deal easier. A study of world diets may conceivably yield the added dividend of showing that the world's key dietary requirements are less expensive than supposed.

An alternative might be to formulate a basic world diet built around the foods the world can produce and to issue it to all peoples with a choice of adapted recipes.

A third alternative is to let the world go hungry. The UN's International Commodity Clearing House is now only a dream and, by present indications, will remain so.

But the well-fed can be reminded that the hungry ones resent waking in the middle of the night with the pangs of hunger. And then they pass an hour or so thinking about the world, in a particularly cogent way unknown to the well-fed.

*The world's biggest democracy writes its own ticket to the bravest new world of all*

# Wishes And Horsepower In India

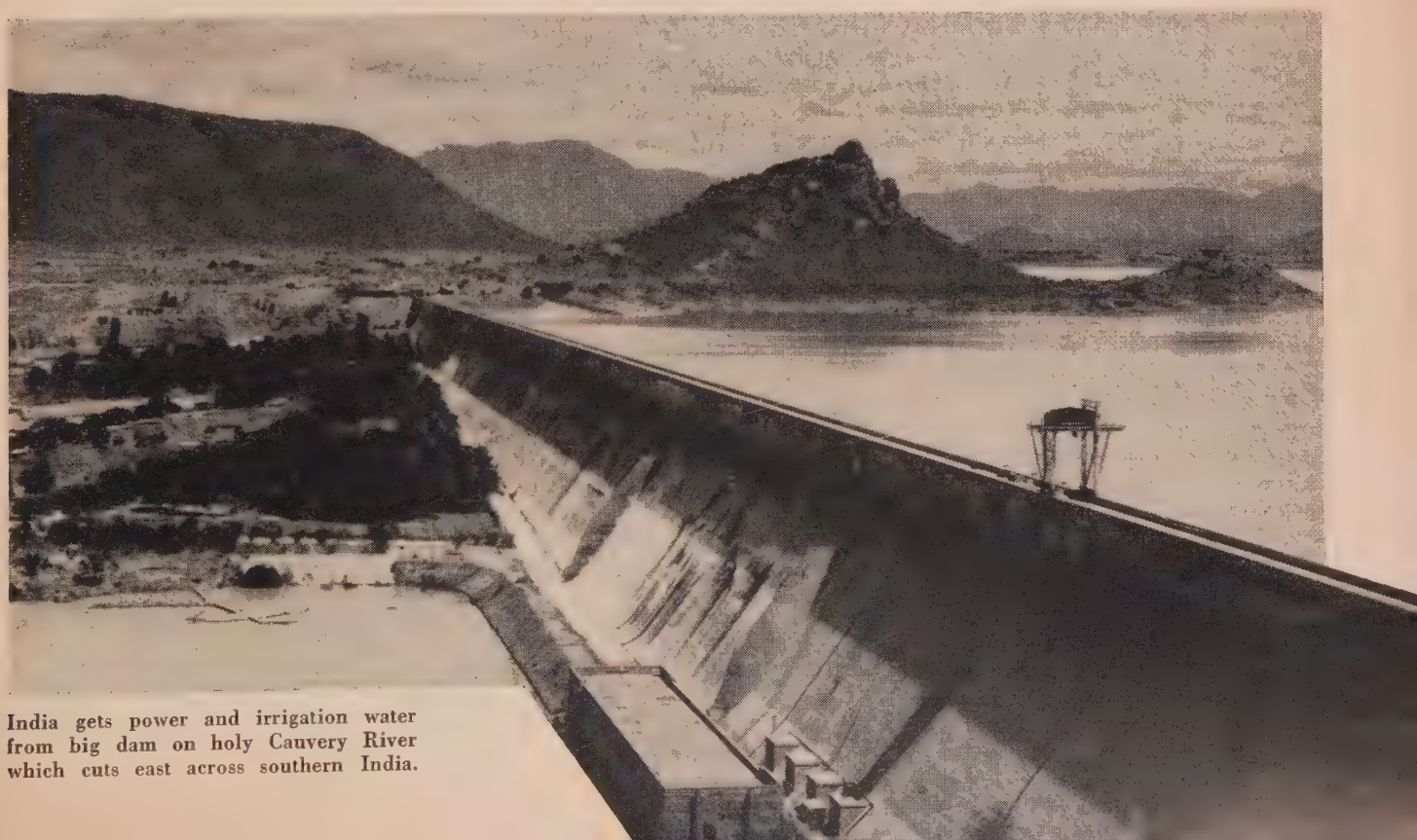
By A. BURKS SUMMERS
*Board Chairman, Global Trading Corporation*

ASIA fell neatly into two parts at the beginning of 1950. China had already fallen to the Chinese Communists when, on January 26, India became the new republic of Bharat, with a new democratic constitution. A race between ideologies that was very far from doctrinaire abstractions, was on. This momentous contest would seem to warrant the intense scrutiny of the far from innocent bystanders.

Whichever solution wins in the long run will quite possibly take over the whole world and must certainly become the way of life of more than half the world's people. Bharat (the name comes from a legendary Indian king of the Lunar line) is more populous than US and USSR combined.

Democratic India will probably fail if the West's sympathy stops at the normal limits of aloof, though friendly, trade.

India's problems may be capsuled in two terrible statistics. An Indian baby has a life expectancy of 26 years, as against an American girl



India gets power and irrigation water from big dam on holy Cauvery River which cuts east across southern India.

# Wishes and Horsepower in India *continued*

baby's prospect of 68 years of life. The Indian will live and die on a diet of 1700 calories a day (rice, lentils, unleavened chappati bread, milk curds, some fish), as against an American's 4000 calories a day.

Dividing 170 million food acres into 340 million people comes out at half an acre per person. Either every acre must produce more or there must be millions more acres. India hopes at the best to reclaim 800,000 acres of overgrown land by 1951, and has a target of seven million acres.

Actually, however, all crop areas have diminished steadily since 1945, partly because of the inevitable social dislocations of freedom. (Sole exception is jute, which is far the most profitable crop and will probably claim most new acreage.) The government's hope of reversing this trend abruptly and violently is not much more than that. However, it has introduced better seeds, distributed oil cake and compost for fertilizer, sunk tube wells and begun a program of irrigation dams. The Indian farmer knows his business. He has been crippled, not by ignorance of proper methods, but by poverty.

Weather the past few years has been uncooperative. The hot season (March to May) has been too hot or the monsoon season (June to October) has been too wet or too dry.

India has agreed to buy over a million tons of wheat every year under the International Wheat Agreement at between $1.50 and $1.20 a bushel. It is currently quarreling with the US over the terms of a sale of wheat. Russia has sold India 200,000 tons of wheat in exchange for raw jute and tea. In all, India hopes one way or another to get 4,000,000 more tons of food in 1951.

Indian farming is still based on the wooden, iron-tipped plow, yet farm machinery imports in 1948 were at the ridiculous figure of $5,500,000, about equal to imports of office appliances and supplies. India bought paper clips instead of plows.

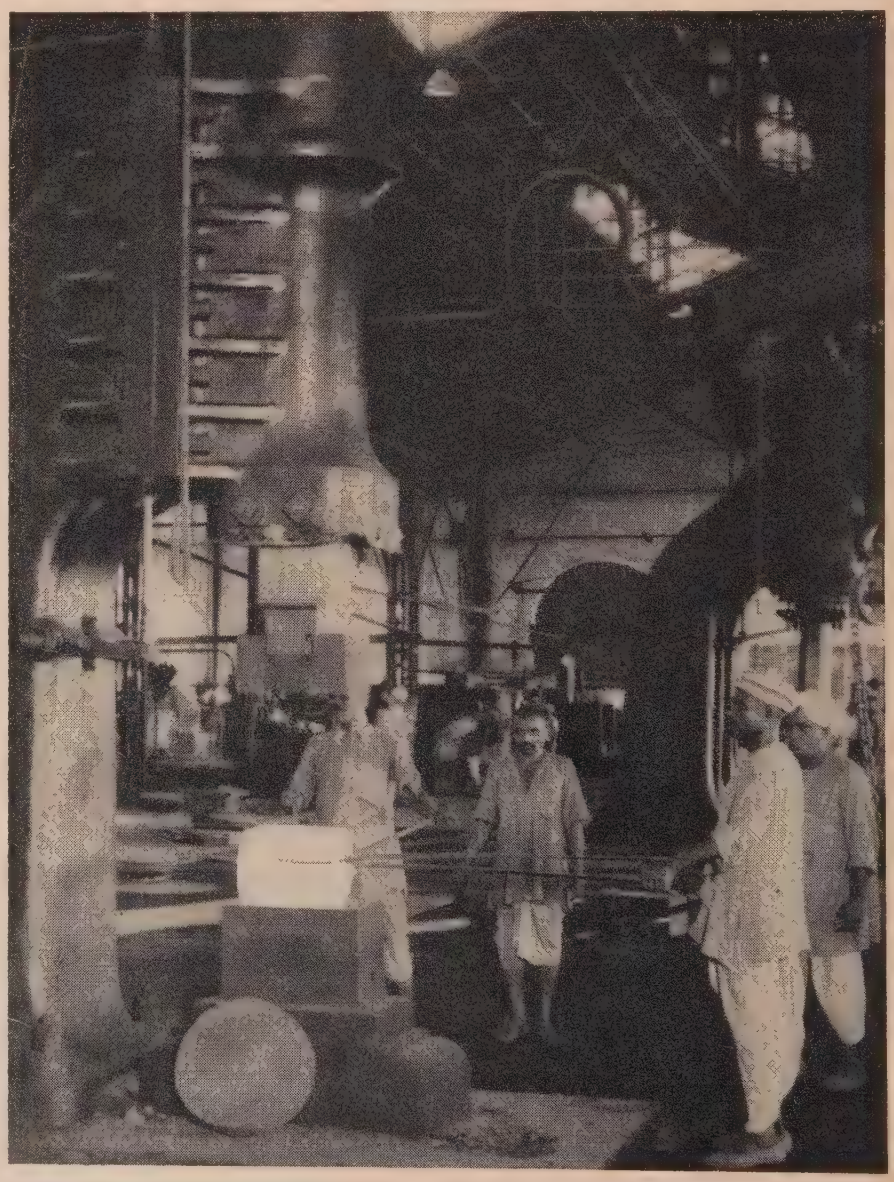
A glimmer of hope is to be seen in a Canadian-designed tractor factory that may eventually produce a thousand or so Diesel tractors a year.

A larger glimmer flashes from the green depths of the Indian Ocean which washes 4,000 miles of Indian shore-line. An Indian gets about four pounds of fish a year, whereas a Japanese gets 95 pounds. The reason for the discrepancy is that Indians do not fish from powered boats and have no proper nets. Their catches are small and close to shore. Yet out there at sea await shoals of mackerel, whiting, sardines, sea perch, seer, pomfret and Bombay duck.

The long-range hope for India is, of course, the construction of power and irrigation dams and industrialization. And indeed the Indian government has the world's most imposing collection of blueprints for such enterprises, probably surpassing even those produced with such fluency by Soviet planners.

Some are beyond the blueprint stage. A contract has been signed with the General Electric Co. for the Damodar Valley project, which is in some ways a copy of TVA. When it is finished, five years from now, it would provide both power for nearby coal fields and irrigation for 800,000 acres. The Bhakra dam in the East Punjab is still another project. The

**Indians take very well to industrialization where it has reached them. These Indians seem to know their way around this two-ton pneumatic hammer in a railway workshop.**



Lower Bhavani dam in Madras Province, over five miles long, is actually in process of construction.

A good many others are in that nebulous state called "advanced stages of planning." These include the Rosi dam (for which the US Bureau of Reclamation has provided scale models), the Wainganga River project in the Central Provinces, the elaborate Yamuna River project of tunnels, channels, a dam and barrage, and the canal and dam of Ghataprabba in Bombay province.

The cost of all power projects now on the books would be some four billion dollars and at least a third of this would be spent abroad for materials and machinery. Groups of Indian engineers have been touring the US and Prime Minister Nehru has called on them to work in a "spirit of war emergency and of service to the masses in a battle against nature."

Such exhortation is helpful, but it is good to be able to report that Nehru has also made long-range plans to manufacture India's own hydroelectric machinery.

In transport, India is equally backward. Of its 34,000 miles of railway, all but 4,000 are single-track. The rolling stock, which is old and worn, recently delighted all India by the compliment it received from a foreign commission that it was "in fair condition." The official position is that transport is not an urgent problem, though want of it often allows famine and plenty simultaneously.

"If wishes were horsepower" is the thought inevitably inspired by some of these plans, but the fact and the force of India pulverize and shame any such cynicism.

Dreams are cheap, but the dream of the new Indian Constitution has a powerful magic, and it happens to be also the dream of the democracies.

The Indians say they studied the constitutions of the US, UK, Canada, Australia, Switzerland and Eire( not necessarily in that order) and produced their own synthesis. They took nearly three years and evidently had a lot of fun drafting their constitution. In official publications they actually point out that, though they required 35 months to complete 395 articles and 2,473 amendments, Australia took nine years to frame only 128 articles and the US, for shame, four months to draw up only seven articles. This naive statistic seems to reveal the simple happiness it gives the Indians to be able at last to count themselves among the world's republics. The democracies surely cannot help welcoming so enthusiastic a freshman. The Indians had a fine time writing this constitution. One delegate lost a briefcase containing 1,000 amendments. He sat down in New Delhi and happily rewrote them all from memory, thinking up 250 more in the process.

**The antediluvian agricultural methods of India are evident, as an Indian draws well water for irrigation by a wooden pulley, to the amazement of the team of buffalo.**

The Thomas Jefferson of India may be said to have been B. R. Ambedkar, chairman of the drafting committee, a former Untouchable. Other Founding Fathers were Alladi Ayyangar, Munshi, Ayyar, T. T. Krishnamachari, Assam's ex-Premier Sadulla, Mysore's ex-Dewan Rao, B. N. Rau and S. N. Mukerji. Nehru and Patel contributed a great deal but the most powerful presence at the meetings was the ghost of Gandhi.

The final document creates a President and a two-house Parliament. The President and upper house are elected by the state legislatures, the lower by all the people of India. The majority party in the lower house elects a Premier who names the Cabinet.

Absolutely everybody over the age of 20 has the vote, except for the criminal and crazy. "Untouchability" is expressly abolished, with penalties. An expanded Bill of Rights defends the citizen against any totalitarian temptations of the government. Minorities are protected in the pursuit of their various religions, languages, scripts and ways of life. Beyond all this, the constitution includes "Directive Principles," having no legal force, but aiming policy in the direction of a "welfare state" socialism and a feasible Utopia. The key words are "Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," combining the best features of all the revolutions of the West.

The 566 variegated political units of India have been reorganized into nine provinces (the most advanced), six Unions of States, nine centrally ruled areas (the least advanced) and the single States of Hyderabad, Kashmir-Jammu and Mysore. All have equal status and similar constitutions.

What should be most interesting to the cynical West is that the government that framed this document was elected by possibly 10,000,000 or 3 per cent of the Indian people, though no exact figure is obtainable. However, a *New York Times* reporter during the last war found that whole villages had never heard of Gandhi,

# Wishes and Horsepower in India *continued*

not even the mayor or school teacher. His unscientific poll seemed to show that the great mass of India's people were well outside the bloodstream of Congress Party politics. In any event, the last elections were held under laws that disfranchised perhaps 95 per cent of the Indian people.

This 95 per cent is the huge unknown quantity in Indian politics. Nobody can know how they will vote. The drafters of the constitution, in inviting them into politics, committed an act of sheer parliamentary courage not matched by Stalin or the southern states of the US.

The test will come in the elections next winter.

The Congress Party now in power has the advantage that it will supervise the creation of village *panchayats,* in a constitutional revival of the town meeting form of government sacred 2,000 years ago and undercut by British rule. The rebirth of the Indian village *panchayat* was one of Gandhi's favorite dreams.

Faith in the validity of democracy compels us to respect the will, still unexpressed, of these 150,000,000 new voters, men and women. Probably the Congress Party will maintain its predominance on the political scene. However, it will be challenged by two more aggressively Hindu, chauvinistic parties, the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS (Rashtriva Seva Sangha), as well as by the doctrinaire Socialists, Socialist Republicans and Communists. The next government may well have a very different look from the present creation of cosmopolitan city liberals, educated at Oxford and Columbia.

NEHRU AND FLAG

This possibility has of course been foreseen by the Founding Fathers. Spiritually, the symbolism of the new republic may convey a clue as to what was in the mind of Nehru and the others, for these gentlemen are almost inhumanly gifted with long memories, large thoughts and an absence of hatred.

The symbolism of the Indian flag and seal deliberately, and even dangerously, overpasses Hinduism and Gandhi's spinning wheel, and returns to Buddha and the Emperor Asoka the Great, who organized and proselytized the Buddhist Church in the third century B.C. The inspiration for the Indian emblem and seal is the Asokan Lion Capital at Sarnath where Buddha first gave out his gospel of peace and emancipation. It shows four lions on a circular abacus which is girdled by four wheels and a lion (North), elephant (East), horse (South) and bull (West), the whole resting on a 16-petal lotus.

The flag centers this same Asokan "wheel of universal law" in blue on the central white bar of the tri-color, saffron, white and green. The State's motto is from a verse in the Mundaka Upanishad: "Truth Alone Triumphs."

This may be so, but in India it must first be translated into over a hundred distinct languages. English is still the top written language, with 868 papers and magazines. Hindi, the official language and a descendant of Sanskrit, is used in 853 newspapers and magazines, Urdu in 571, Bengali in 396, Tamil in 305, Marathi in 243, Telugu in 151, and the great illiterate Assamese population has but seven.

The difficulties India faces, enormous at any time, are aggravated at this moment.

The business community is sullen.

Industrial workers have taken a mass holiday, their output per worker in the steel industry being now one third of what it was before independence.

A cold war with Pakistan is on, partly over Kashmir and partly over Pakistan's refusal to follow UK and India in devaluation. Refugees from Pakistan have given India more displaced persons than Europe has. More than half India's income goes for military expenditures.

Prices are high. Raw materials are scarce.

Arrests of Communist agitators run into the thousands.

The "princes of many guns," retired on privy purses that are limited to $300,000 a year (though some lifetime exceptions have been made), have withdrawn from public life, throwing away a real chance for leadership.

The bureaucracy of government is occasionally green, and worst in the State Unions.

The great charm of so many Indian politicians is taking itself out in talk, in one of the greatest "bull sessions" the world has ever seen, as brilliant men try to envisage themselves heroically embedded midway between millennia, looking backward to the republics of Buddha's day and forward to a certain Nirvana. Meanwhile Nehru, perhaps the greatest charmer of them all, has grown preoccupied and difficult of approach.

The tempo of eternity can be read in the new national anthem, *Jana Gana Mana* ("The Mind of the People") by Tagore:

"Thou art the ruler of the minds of all people,
Thou dispenser of India's destiny,
Thy name rouses the hearts
Of the Punjab, Sind,
Gujrat and Maratha, of Dravid,
Orissa and Bengal . . ."

An Indian press release says "Vast numbers of human beings will function with greater social harmony and effectiveness than before."

If we translate this to "Democratic capitalism has its last chance to help produce social harmony in a liberated people," it makes more sense. In Washington at this moment several hundred officials are working on the details of a Marshall Plan for Asia.

These gentlemen, if they dispense the right kind of help, may turn out to be the real "dispensers of India's destiny," and indeed of the destiny of democracy everywhere.

*A UNW Survey*

# World Literature At Mid-Century

By ANNE FREMANTLE
*Assistant Professor, Fordham University*

***Vital, realistic, cynical, the spirit of Italy has brought forth a literary renaissance out of the ruins of dictatorship, war, misery and occupation.***

## *IV. The Italian Novel*

The current Italian literary Renaissance has now been a going concern for five years—since the first Allied landings, and has become part of the accepted background of the post World War II scene. Yet, though it has been so taken-for-granted, and quietly accepted here, it is actually most astonishing. For not since the cinquecento has Rome made so fair a bid to be the literary capital of the world, nor, since the early eighteenth century, has Paris suffered so serious a challenge.

The French, groaning and travailing still today under the weight of their collaboration, are overly conscious of their sins, and bore all comers with their guilt-complex. Their dime-store Resistance medals, their two-a-penny denunciations of the once-beloved Marshal and his fellow-gravediggers, have succeeded the Central European pre-war *angst* of Kafka, Rilke, *et al.*, as a literary convention, whilst the French existentialists, suckled on Jaspers and Kierkegaard, wail on deeply and darkly.

The Italians, on the other hand, who behaved infinitely worse, both before and during the war, have let their sins slide off them like water off a duck's back. They show bombed Genoa to the English or the American visitor without a shadow of shame or embarrassment, but with lashin's of self-pity. Nor do they bother to wash their hands, publicly or privately, either of twenty years of Fascism (which, from their account, was a foreign occupation) nor of their "stab-in-the-back" of 1940. For they seem entirely convinced that no one, but no one (except only that unspeakable Mr. Churchill) would ever dream of suggesting that their hands might be dirty.

Actually, Fascism does not seem to have incommoded Italian writers too much. The Tuscan writers, Aldo Palazzeschi (whose charming *Sisters Materazzi* appeared in 1934, and is scheduled for publication here by Roy) and Emilio Cecchi, continued, unruffled, to produce their beautiful prose, Bruno Cicognani, beloved by the Vatican, wrote his best book, *La Velia,* in 1923, but went calmly on throughout all the troubles, and even Alberto Moravia was unmolested. True, his *La Mascherata,* an obvious novel about the dictator of a South American State and his mistress, was finally banned, but it had been peacefully published in 1941 without fuss. Indeed Ignazio Silone, the only Italian writer to go into exile, was considered thereby to have put on a very exaggerated Anglo-Saxon attitude, and has been snubbed, rather than fêted, since his return. Indeed, his books are far better known abroad than they are in Italy. Indro Montanelli, considered by many to be the wittiest writer in Italy, in his *Qui non Riposano* gaily discusses the problem of what to do with the people who believed in Fascism.

How many writers believed in Fascism is shown by the large number who are now Communists. These are so disappointed at not being supported by Fascism any more, that they look hopefully to a Communist régime. For twenty years they were corrupted by the authorities; now that the democratic régime sees no reason at all to bribe its intellectuals, they are sadly chagrined. An amusing case is that of old Massimo Bontempelli, a veteran short-story writer, who recently lost his job as a Communist Senator, because the democrats had him expelled as an ex-Fascist!

The first swallow of the present Italian literary hey-day to reach this country in translation was, of course, Carlo Levi's *Christ stopped at Eboli,* published here in 1947. And Levi remains unique amongst contemporary Italian writers in that he offers no panaceas, and asks for no

pity. He is regional, it is true (this regionalism is a badge of the present Renaissance) but his peasants are pagans, of no place or time. Neither politics nor religion have really reached them. They are isolated, not only by geography, but by a kind of invulnerability to the merely contemporary, removed alike from their country's anguish as from any censure of their own, or any other person's mind or heart. Carlo Levi, perhaps because he is a Jew, seems far more universal in his applications than his other two "top-ranking" contemporaries, Alberto Moravia and Elio Vittorini.

CARLO LEVI

Alberto Moravia (the pseudonym used by Alberto Pincherle) is the most substantial of contemporary Italian novelists. In his early forties, he is best-known here for his *The Woman of Rome*, although *The Indifferent Ones* (published here in 1932) remains his most powerful story. His *The Wheel of Fortune*, too, is magnificently constructed, although there is a cinematographic quality about his writing, which may well come from too much reading of American novels. And there is an existentialist inevitability about his pattern, too. Thus, in *The Wheel of Fortune*, Matteo, the marquis living on his rich wife, his naïve, cruel sister Sofia, his snobbish, pathetic mistress Andreina, and their self-invalided father could not have been otherwise than they are. No breath of free-will moves the sombre foliage; as the bough bends, so it breaks.

In *The Woman of Rome*, which so deliberately seeks comparison with Defoe's *Moll Flanders*, there is none of Moll's cheerful optimism. Moll's attitude was, life's a [illegible], but let's not down tools in dismay. Instead, Moravia suggests an almost masochistic delight in the discomforts and disadvantages of one's calling: *because* the floor is hard, *therefore* it's the best place to make love. Moravia has been much influenced by André Gide. There is something in him of the Protestant distrust of life in all of its manifestations. Both smell out man's fall even when they are smooching with the beloved.

Elio Vittorini, whose *In Sicily* rated the front page of *The New York Times Book Review* section when published here in translation last year, is definitely a Communist writer, whereas Moravia is probably only a fellow-traveler. Vittorini's two latest novels, as yet untranslated, still have for hero the fall guy, but resolve his dilemmas dialectically, rather than in the quasi-mystical fashion of *In Sicily*, where redemption is almost Antæan, the result of a physical return to one's own earth and one's own people.

The fall guy, the "sad sack" is, one way and another, the hero of most Italian novels since the reaction set in against the D'Annunzio-Papini-Marinetti bombastic school. Ignazio Silone resolved his hero in every case (e.g. *Fontamara, Bread and Wine*) by an identification with a pre-Christian, mythical age-old Italy, differing from Carlo Levi's only in that it is Italy, not that it is everywhere. Luigi Pirandello resolved his problem by equating the pathetic hero with the myth itself (as in his *Henry IV*) whereas today Vittorini and Cesare Pavese (*Before the Cock Crows, The Comrade*) bring the hero home to the sweet, safe party-line. Pavese has not yet been translated, but Vasco Pratolini is another Communist who, in his *A Tale of Poor Lovers* (Viking) and *A Hero of Our Times*, uses poverty to preach with. Vitaliano Brancati, in *The Old Man in High Boots*, writes more as an existentialist, but much of Italian existentialism differs from Communism only in that it is tragedy with the pity left in and the hope left out.

Moravia is less definite. For him, the fall guy, the average Italian little man, is natural man, sometimes slightly stained with Catholicism, oftener not, indeed, generally a pure, Rousseauesque creature, who is hopelessly soiled and embroiled when he tries to catch up with the modern world. Corrado Alvaro is another whose analysis is political, although his emphasis is not. His *Man is Strong* (published in the US in 1948 by Knopf) is a study of the police-state, but with Kafkian overtones, rather than strictly Communist ones.

The most "literary" of the new crop of writers is Guido Piovene, like Moravia a fellow-traveller, but, like him too, more interested in different psychological states than in theories. Moravia's *Agostino* and his *The Winter of an Invalid* both show human beings in transition, almost in flight. Piovene's *Letter of a Novice*, set in the Venetian province, recalls the complexities of Laclos' eighteenth-century *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, and his *Stone against Stone*, written about Milan during the bombardments, postulates anguish and suffering as man's natural climate, necessary not merely to bring out his highest, but even his natural, capacities.

### *Finally, a Liberal*

Ennio Faiano (*A Time to Kill; The Short Cut*—Pellegrini & Cuddahy) is a truly "liberal" writer in the old-fashioned sense of the word. He sees, as Moravia does, the evil everywhere prevalent in the universe; he shares Moravia's almost physical horror of it. But whilst for Moravia the evil is ubiquitous, senseless, inescapable and utterly wasteful, for Faiano it is always a *sign*. For him, as for the Frenchman Georges Bernanos, "everything is grace." *The Short*

*Cut* is a tremendous and terrifying story of "man's first disobedience" and of the slow process of redemption.

It is told in the first person, by a soldier in Ethiopia who, on leave, takes a short cut-back to the first garden, and there seduces a native woman, then kills her. In terror and pain he works out his salvation, and the symbolism never spoils the story, which has an intensity which suggests that Faiano has read Joyce, and profited by his reading. Johannes, the woman's father, is almost speechlessly symbolic, and the child Elias is aggressively innocent, but this may well be the most powerful allegory since Kafka's *The Castle*, and the final cry of recognition is wonderfully understated as in the following:

"People have no right to be so generous," I said. "Take it or leave it," said the second lieutenant. The trumpet repeated the call in haste. "It is a pretty comical trumpet for my Judgment," I said, "but every man has his own."

Seeing that the valley of his sin is also the valley where his forgiveness is given, the hero is about to quote from the Bible. But he has used the leaves of his to make cigarette papers, and "there is no point in quoting an author when we have made cigarette papers out of a page in his book!"

Of Catholic writers, Giovanino Guareschi is outstanding. His *The Little World of Don Camillo* (to be published this fall by Pellegrini and Cudahy) is a series of delightful encounters between an old priest and the local Communist leader. Urbane, theological, compassionate and very funny, it recalls Alphonse Daudet. It is the author's eighth book, his most powerful being *The Clandestine Diary*, written whilst he was first a prisoner of the Fascists and then a prisoner of war of the Germans.

Undernourishment, physical and intellectual, dictatorship and war seem to have been the background of the splendid harvest of novels now appearing in Italy. Perhaps Thomas Traherne was right, and "the most tempestuous weather is ever the best seed-time." It is certainly old gardening-lore that dead dogs make the best manure for rose-gardens.

# Books in the Wind

## *Politics*

**Public Opinion and Propaganda** by Frederick C. Irion, Crowell, N. Y., 782, pp., $5.00.
A study of the forces which mould public opinion in the US, covering all phases from the historical background, the instruments and institutions which form public opinion, their use and techniques through the influence of public opinion.

**Growing Up Into Revolution** by Margaret Cole, Longmans Green, N. Y., 244 pp., $3.50.
An autobiography of one of England's most ardent Laborites. Her book traces in her own lifetime the history of Socialism in Britain through her intimate knowledge of the Webbs, Fabianism and more recently the Labor movement.

## *Communism*

**Seeds of Treason** by Ralph de Toledano and Victor Lasky, Funk & Wagnalls, N. Y., 270 pp., $3.50.
Two working newspapermen delve into the background of the Hiss-Chambers situation, tracing the background of both protagonists from their origins through the recent Hiss trial. They also go into the tactics of the Communist party in the US.

**My Retreat from Russia** by Vladimir Petrov, Yale University Press, New Haven, 357 pp., $4.00.
At the age of 19 the author was sent to Siberia as a political prisoner and set to work in a labor camp. He was released six years later in 1941 just as Germany was attacking the USSR. He made his way back to his native Caucasus and found life impossible there for a former political prisoner and resultantly made his way with the retreating German armies when they left. Subsequently he was able in an interesting odyssey to get to the US. This is the story of his voyages.

**The Police State** by Craig Thompson, Dutton, N. Y., 257 pp., $3.00.
Vice President of the Overseas Club and a veteran reporter, Craig Thompson brought fourteen pounds of notes out of Moscow where he spent two years, despite Soviet surveillance. He describes life in the USSR in most of its facets and gives his version of Soviet political and economic ambitions.

## *Economics*

**African Dependencies** by Nwankwo Chukwuemeka, William Frederick Press, N. Y., 207 pp., $3.50.
A comprehensive study is made of Nigeria, one of the dependencies, by a native son, now Professor at Howard University. It depicts the abundant natural resources, social, legal and economic implications and its people, and gives a prognosis of its economic and cultural potential if properly handled.

**Puerto Rico's Economic Future** by Harvey S. Perloff, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 435 pp., $4.75.
Subtitled "A Study in Planned Development" this well-documented volume covers Puerto Rico's history, its people, its terrain, its economic situation and place in world trade and politics, and provides a plan for the betterment of its economic and social situation.

**Relative Prices of Exports and Imports of Under-developed Countries,** United Nations, N. Y., 156 pp., $1.00.
A study of post-war terms of trade between under-developed and industrialized countries with statistical appendices.

**Economic Survey of Latin America, 1948,** United Nations, N. Y., 279 pp., $2.00.
Prepared by Economic Commission for Latin America, and covers all phases of economy for South and Central America and Mexico from Agriculture and Transportation to Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments.

**Economic Bulletin for Europe, Third Quarter, 1949,** United Nations, Geneva, 86 pp., $.50.
Review of the economic situation in Europe July-September, 1949, special articles on Coal Production and Trade in Europe since the war and Regional interdependence of Germany, and tables on European economic statistics.

**European Steel Trends in Setting of the World Market,** United Nations, Geneva, 148 pp. and map, $1.50.
Prepared by Steel Division, Economic Commission for Europe, contains exhaustive study on subject with valuable tables and map.

*For the first time in history, an international organization—a UN Agency—will have the sole right to buy and sell opium throughout the world.*

# The UN Goes Into the Opium Business

By CURT L. HEYMANN
*UNW's Roving Correspondent*

"You want to buy opium?" asked the trafficker in narcotic drugs who called on me at the Ankara Palace Hotel in Istanbul. And before I had time to explain that I was merely on a fact-finding mission and that my interest in narcotics was purely "platonic" he had elaborated his offer:

Granulated or powdered, liquid or in pills. Prices f.o.b. a French continental or North American port. Payment: cash down for the consignment in hard currency, American or Canadian dollars, Belgian or Swiss francs. Delivery time: ten days to two weeks in France, three to four weeks in North America. Delivery elsewhere could be arranged but would cause delay.

Quantities? The sky seemed to be the limit. Besides, was I interested in other drugs: morphine, heroin, cocaine? Just place your order, sir,

and please remember: it's oatmeal for opium, milk of magnesia for morphine, honey for heroin, coke for cocaine.

Insurance against loss? Of course not. Who the hell would insure illicit merchandise? But that needn't worry you, sir. The loss in case of accident or confiscation is borne by us. Moreover, such losses are drops in the bucket of world production. Supply of illicit opium is sufficient and stocks on hand make deliveries 99% secure. The one per cent is our risk.

That conversation took place only a short time ago. Yet today, the world's opium traffickers are in imminent danger of passing from boom to bust. If they do, they will owe it to the United Nations. For the UN has been busy inventing some brand new wrinkles in the way of opium control in the past few months, and these may shortly begin to make themselves felt.

If all the profit in illicit opium had accrued only to the racketeers, it might have been possible to put a stop to their activities long ago. The trouble is that governments profited too. Those in the opium-producing areas have had an interest in high production as a source of tax revenues. For this reason they have not infrequently "doctored" the production figures in the reports they made public, while allowing an underground stream of the drug to flow out into the illicit markets of every continent.

Efforts to cope with the opium menace, begun under the League of Nations, were transferred to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. Such efforts had met with only partial success. Now, a totally new approach is being sought. In December, the United Nations convoked the governments of the four principal opium-producing countries—India, Iran, Turkey and Yugoslavia—at Ankara, Turkey. It had named them as a "Committee" to report a plan for restricting opium production to world medical and scientific requirements. It asked them also to establish government opium monopolies to take charge of all production.

This method of handling the matter placed the burden of a solution squarely where it belonged. At the same time it made the opium-producing countries watchdogs of one another's activities. The Ankara meeting began with a small "cold war" over the matter in which opium production was to be divided up. But it came through in the end with allotments rigidly fixed—and there is reasonable hope that these will be observed.

Now the United Nations is completing arrangements for setting up an International Purchasing and Selling Agency. This UN non-profit corporation will have the sole right to buy and sell opium throughout the world. The drug will pass from the UN's hands to nations and ultimate customers by way of bookkeeping that will leave not one gram unaccounted for. Leaks into the illicit markets will be hard to maneuver, and should be comparatively easy to trace.

At the UN's fifth General Assembly next fall, all member governments will be presented with a World Convention or Treaty by which they will be asked to obligate themselves to live up to the terms of the new world agreements on opium. Such a world treaty will exert a powerful influence in "starving out" the traffickers in narcotic drugs.

Opium is a global curse that respects no boundary lines. It is the most seductive of all the narcotic drugs. Its vicious abuse is fifty times as great as its medical use.

Practically all countries of the Near East, Middle East and Far East have been either producers or manufacturers of opium drugs, mostly both. At the same time they are chief consumers of the drug, using it not only as a stimulant or sedative but as a substitute for alcoholic drinks.

China, before its civil war, exceeded all countries in opium production. World output of opium in 1925 was estimated at close to eight million pounds of which China alone produced more than half. India and Burma ran close seconds with almost two million pounds.

Iran (Persia) trailed behind India and Burma but had a sizable share in opium production as hundreds of tons, shipped annually from Bushire to Vladivostok, found their way into illicit channels en route. Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia were in prewar days the other chief poppy growing countries with Turkey as the chief source of international drug traffic.

World War II not only upset the entire picture but threw the whole opium situation into unprecedented turmoil. Nowhere did illegal markets assume such astronomical figures and proportions as the illicit traffic of narcotic drugs.

Its volume is anybody's guess but it's probably the best-organized "trust" in the world today, exceeding even the effectiveness of existing espionage systems.

It may not be safer but it is comparatively easier to smuggle drugs than other contraband. Customs inspectors look habitually for currencies, gold, jewelry, cigarettes, nylons, cameras and radios. Narcotics are light, small and easy to conceal. Cached in secret compartments they are either seized in large quantities or not at all. Mostly not at all as two examples show:

The United States reported for 1948 confiscation of only 66 kgms of smuggled opium. France, in the same period, seized a mere 16 kgms of the drug. And yet, the US is the largest importer of opium (200,000 kgms annually) while France holds a key position as a transit country for illicit drugs.

The French themselves are small opium consumers. But France has become the outlet for illicit opium traffic from two directions: some of the French colonies rank today as the world's greatest opium producers and the drug reaches French Mediterranean ports via Indochina, Equatorial Africa, Morocco and Tunisia.

Dismemberment of Germany opened up a second East-West artery for the illicit flow of narcotics. They are probably the only goods that penetrate the Iron Curtain unhampered.

**IMPLEMENTS OF AN OPIUM EATER.** Pipes, spirit lamps, a pipe cleaner, a pestle (extreme left corner) and, of course, many cans of the precious stuff.

# UN in the Opium Business *continued*

Because of chaotic conditions in the Far East, Chinese opium can easily be smuggled into Soviet territory. A consignment then travels through Russia whose "customs unions" with the Baltic States and Poland facilitate its entry into East Germany. Once in Berlin's Russian sector, a ten-minute subway ride will carry any quantity of opium westward through the American and French zones where it finally crosses the Rhine and reaches a Channel port.

If one route of communication is blocked, another one is likely to be open. But whether destined for Marseilles or Toulon, Cherbourg or Brest, no drug cargo stays any length of time in a Continental port. It will be shipped immediately to the Western Hemisphere, reach the opium dens of Latin America through the Panama Canal, the United States in particular through the Great Lakes. Our 3,000-mile Canadian border is especially tempting for opium smugglers and Canada confiscated much larger quantities than the US did.

Traffic in narcotics is notoriously the heaviest where legislation is the weakest. Yet efforts to tighten legislation and enforce, through international cooperation, an embargo on opium, have not proved easy in the past. If the present UN effort really clamps down a lid that can't be lifted, it will be recorded as one of the great turning points in social betterment.

The use of the poppy and the cocoa leaf goes back to time immemorial. But organized use of opium for purposes of commerce and revenue only developed in the last two centuries. Importation of opium by foreign traders led to the war of 1840 between Britain and China; for years, though, the latter refused to legalize the opium trade. Finally, upon China's appeal, Theodore Roosevelt convoked an International Commission of Opium in Shanghai in 1909, and three years later the first International Opium Conference was held at The Hague. The first World War not only curtailed its recommendations but was responsible for the spreading of narcotics.

After the war, the League of Nations was entrusted with the supervision of opium traffic and a Permanent Central Opium Board was established in Geneva in 1925. The Convention of 1931 limited world manufacture of drugs to medical and scientific needs but steps taken for the destruction of illicit drug traffic were so inadequate that the American delegation expressed their disapproval and withdrew.

During World War II, the Dutch, British, French and Portuguese Governments took measures to make the ever-growing habit of opium smoking illegal. Yet international control systems broke down, Geneva became isolated and the work of the Opium Board, which moved to Washington, was impaired. It was not resumed until 1946 when narcotic drug control was transferred from the League of Nations to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

The work already accomplished by the Central Opium Board, which reports directly to the Economic and Social Council, should not be underestimated. Now under the presidency of an American, Herbert L. May, this body, composed of eight members, has the benefit of twenty-five years' experience. Many of its resolutions have been universally ratified and its achievements have established a record for a commission of a non-political nature.

However, in the face of staggering world conditions, the Opium Board (as indicated by its most recent report for 1949) has been fighting an up-hill battle against terrific obstacles. Without universality, efficient international narcotic control is an impossibility. Without cooperation of every government there remain gaps through which illicit drugs will slip, and loopholes that will play into the hands of racketeers.

The drive on opium has been seriously hampered because certain countries failed to cooperate. Japan willfully violated its narcotic treaty obligations before and during World War II; but thanks to the efforts of the occupying authorities the situation there and in South Korea is now well under control. In Germany, though, breakdown of the Four-Power Authority has created "zonal" gaps, prohibiting central drug control. Trieste, under international administration, is wide open to drug traffic but has never reported confiscation of a single ounce of opium.

The Soviet Union did not collaborate with the Board in 1946-47, but resumed cooperation in 1948 on a reduced scale and was completely cooperative last year. Indo-China declared only purchases of raw opium by the Régie from producers (five tons in 1948) which do not amount to more than a quarter of actual production. Turkish opium figures included only amounts purchased from producers and dealers but did not account for quantities legally held by producers. Bulgaria declared no opium stocks, no production and no imports and still reported consumption of one ton and export of 7.5.

Afghanistan, Bolivia, Lebanon, Thailand are other countries that showed lack of cooperation and Iran offered an example of the most flagrant violation of the 1931 Opium Convention. Iran's unsound economic position and discovery of immense quantities of Iranian opium in the illicit traffic in many parts of the world were not merely accidental. But Iran reported only 21.3 tons of opium production for 1948. Statistics supplied by Iran were seldom complete and figures on stocks and exports did not tally.

The report of the Opium Board contains two full-size tables strewn with nothing but question marks, each one indicating missing returns. They indict twenty-seven countries and eighteen colonial territories and, more explicit than words, tell the story of a mission that cannot succeed unless control of narcotics is enforced *before their production.* It is that sort of control that forms the nucleus of the new UN plan. If this can be combined with the universality of surveillance and control of distribution inherent in the UN Purchasing and Selling Agency Plan, an embargo on illicit opium may at last become a reality.

***This month the UN Commission on Human Rights faces a new and important challenge. It is called upon to write a binding world Covenant, to supplement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that was adopted by the Fourth General Assembly. The task is difficult, for the Covenant will tend to give the force of international law to those Rights which the Declaration merely upheld as ideals.***

# The Battle for Man's Rights

By MAX BEER

It is just four years since several learned and solemn experts sat down under the presidency of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in a classroom of Hunter College in the Bronx, temporary headquarters of the United Nations. Reporters and public, excited over the battles of the Security Council that were going on in the nearby gymnasium, paid no attention to these men and women of goodwill. Nevertheless this was an historic event, the first reunion of the Human Rights Commission, which had been one of the most astonishing creations of the San Francisco conference.

In the course of this meeting the Commission, modestly called "nuclear" directly and courageously attacked the tremendous problem of writing a Universal Bill of Human Rights. One of their first acts was to stress the need for an "international agency entrusted with the task of preventing the recurrence of acts as monstrous as those which formed the prelude to the second World War." The observer who wandered by accident into this humble classroom might well have remarked that this group was providing the most sensational story of our time.

In the month of April 1950 the Human Rights Commission is holding its sixth session happily still under the presidency of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. In the four years since the preparatory meeting in 1946 the Commission has emerged as one of the most important organisms of the United Nations. Its eighteen members are not merely experts, they speak for their nations: Australia, Belgium, Chile, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, Greece, Guatemala, India, Lebanon, Philippines, Ukraine, United States, United Kingdom, USSR,

# The Battle For Man's Rights *continued*

Uruguay and Yugoslavia. Defying extreme difficulties and particularly the rift between the West and the East, as marked in the field of protection of the rights of man as in that of control of atomic energy, the Commission has accomplished an oustanding task.

In 1947 a decision was reached to divide the Universal Bill of Human Rights into two parts. The first would be a Declaration, morally binding on member states of the United Nations. The second would be a Covenant or treaty, containing measures of implementation which would be legally binding upon those states which consented to ratify it.

The Commission had directed itself with enthusiasm to the realization of the first part of this vast program. An excellent first draft of the Declaration was completed in June 1948, with the assistance of the Secretariat, notably of Mr. Henri Laugier, Assistant Secretary General and of Mr. John Humphrey, Director of the Human Rights Division, and with the collaboration of non-governmental organizations. The General Assembly adopted this broad and generous Universal Declaration of Human Rights in December 1949. Since then it has become one of the best instruments of propaganda for the defense of the rights of man and for the United Nations itself.

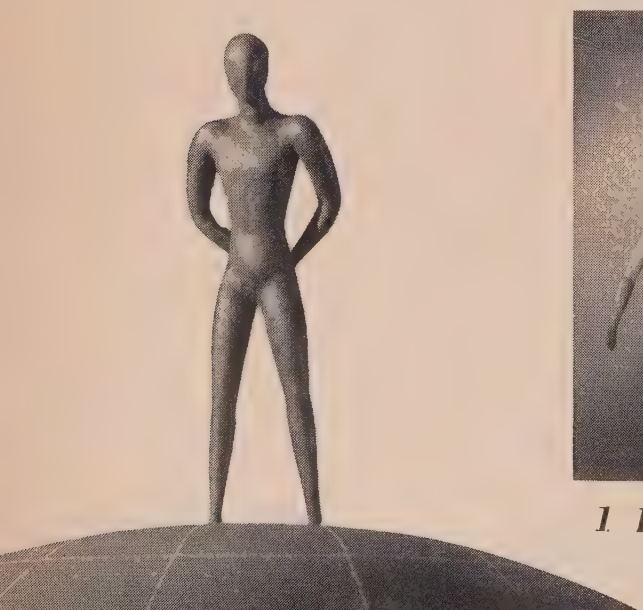
Now the Commission is called upon after many hesitations to achieve the second part of its program. Time presses. The General Assembly would like to be able to adopt at the end of the year 1950 the first international multilateral treaty for the protection of Human Rights, and would like to establish the first mechanism for its international implementation. The task is a difficult one, and it is being carried out in an atmosphere of doubt and embarrassment. The Commission has visibly arrived at the crossroads. It can, if it remains conscious of its responsibilities, confirm its splendid work of 1948. It can on the other hand, if it allows itself to be influenced by a spirit of expediency, dangerously compromise the great cause it has so well served up to the present.

Two dangers threaten the work in preparation. The first is that not enough rights be included in the Covenant and that too many limitations on these rights be imposed.

The Commission has before it a tentative draft Covenant composed of twenty-six articles. The draft as it stands contains only a portion of those individual and public rights which were proclaimed in the Universal Declaraton. Other individual rights defined in the Declaration do not figure in the preliminary draft of the Covenant but are the subject matter of several proposals. Moreover, several of the rights inscribed in the preliminary draft Covenant have been limited by all sorts of definitions and exceptions. In certain cases these serve usefully to add precision to the rights in question by removing them from the mists of mere general principles. But in other cases the limitations risk making the enjoyment of these rights illusory, notably when their enjoyment is subordinated to laws in force or to the requirements of national security, the maintenance of public order and public morality.

The restrictive tendency the most criticized is that which would eliminate from the Covenant now under discussion and reserve for later Covenants social, economic and cultural rights—that is to say precisely those rights the inclusion of which was properly celebrated in the Universal Declaration as marking very great progress over national declarations of the Eighteenth Century. In supporting their omission the United States, land of the Fair Deal, and the United Kingdom, land of worker's government, naturally profess no hostility in principle to these rights. It is their judgment that in the actual state of the world a treaty containing enforcement measures cannot include such rights.

Nevertheless other states, although foreseeing more rigorous implementation than that outlined by the United States and the United Kingdom, are of the opinion that social and economic rights must necessarily be included now. The most fervent



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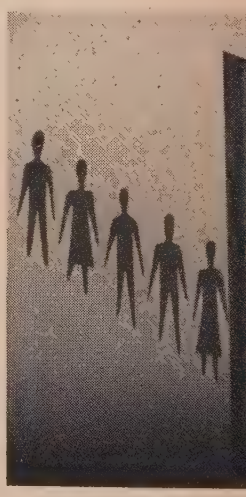


*2 Freedom o*

champion of their inclusion is the USSR. On the other hand even if the Soviet delegation were to participate in the present session its influence in this matter would be nullified by the fact that it totally rejects the principle of international enforcement. Yet if on the one hand it is not very logical to wish to enshrine many rights in a Covenant and at the same time to refuse to implement them internationally, it is no more logical to justify limiting the number of rights admitted to the Covenant on the ground of the necessity of enforcement—while simultaneously establishing an ineffectual system of implementation.

It would seem that the Commission is being oriented toward this paradoxical situation.

The draft Covenant transmitted by the preceding session of the Commission to its present session foresees efforts at enforcement only at the national level. Yet the principle of international implementation is accepted by all states with the exception of Russia and her Communist allies, who admit of no implementation except within the national framework. The only Communist country accepting the principle of international implementation is Yugoslavia.

Some projects for implementation of the Covenant confer functions on the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Human Rights Commission, the Secretariat, or the International Court of Justice. An Australian project, already several years old, recommends that a special Court of Human Rights be established. None of the proposals include participation of the Security Council in a system of implementation, as had been foreseen by the preparatory Commission in 1946 and recommended by the International League for the Rights of Man.

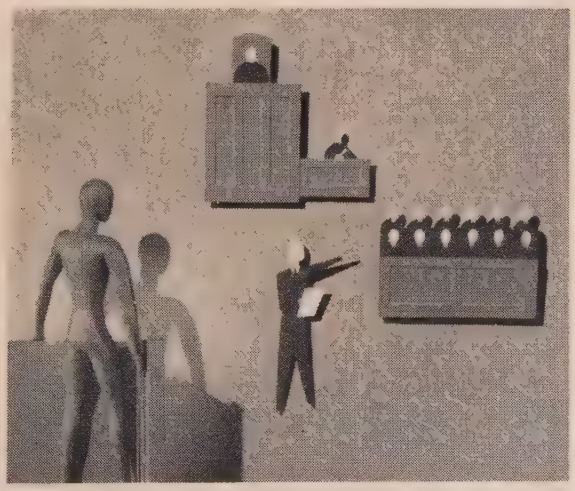
Most of the projects call for a special agency of implementation, which, according to the views of certain governments would have a permanent or at least a semi-permanent character. It might be a special Commission established by the Assembly with its own Secretariat (French proposal). Or it might be a standing Committee established by the Economic and Social Council (proposal of India). It could be a Committee presided over by the Chairman of the Human Rights Commission, with two other members selected from lists or panels presented by the contracting states and government organizations (Uruguay). An Assembly of the contracting states might name a special implementation body (Israel). Other proposals, notably those of the United States and the United Kingdom, to which the Yugoslav proposal is akin, call merely for ad hoc committees. These would be set up only when a matter related to human rights came before the United Nations.

The functions of the Implementation Agency would comprise in certain cases a permanent supervision of the application of the Covenant and the reception of complaints (for example the Danish proposal). But the principal task would be fact-finding, conciliation and noting of violations of the Covenant. No enforcement is foreseen in the sense of effective sanctions. Enforcement would be on the moral plane relying on pressure that would result from making public a nation's rupture of a contract it had freely accepted.

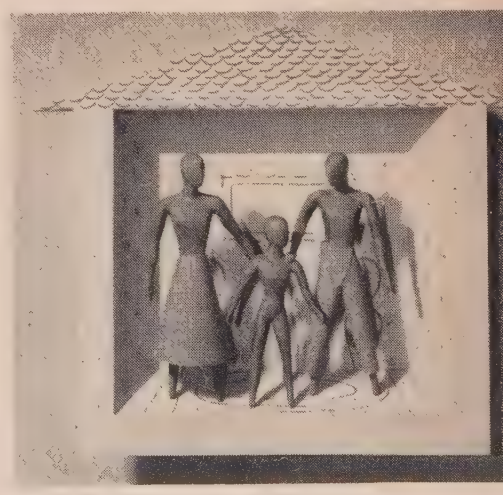
Any agency of implementation should, we are inclined to think, be a permanent organ firmly set up, relying on all the resources that other organs of the United Nations can place at its disposition and enjoying from the start a great international prestige. But whatever Implementation Agency may be finally agreed upon, its efficiency will depend on the manner in which it is launched. On this point there is little cause for reassurance.

For a long time it was supposed that human beings would themselves individually or in groups or through the intermediary of private organizations call attention to violations of their rights. The right of petition of this sort existed in limited form in the system of protection of the League of Nations. The right of individual petition is recognized in the trusteeship system of the United Nations. The Constitution of the International Labor Organization accords a right of complaint to industrial associations of employers and of workers. The system established by the Economic and Social Council for the utilization of the communications

*Expression*



*3 Freedom from Fear*



*4 Freedom from Want*

regarding human rights that are constantly arriving at Lake Success has often been viewed as a first step toward a general system of petitions. The non-governmental organizations that have consultative status in the deliberations of the Human Rights Commission have energetically declared themselves in favor of right of petition by individuals and groups. For a fleeting moment, half the Commission members present at the 1949 session were also in favor of the petition right for individuals and groups. They were: Australia, Denmark, France, Guatemala, India, Lebanon, Philippines and Uruguay. The French delegate, M. René Cassin fought heroically for this right. Since then the sub-committee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities has recommended adoption.

All the same the sole principle passed on by the 1949 session to this one of 1950 is that of the right of complaint reserved exclusively to the contracting states. This principle was defended yesterday as today by the United States and the United Kingdom. The governments of these two countries hold in effect that before granting a right of petition to individuals, groups and non-governmental organizations it will be necessary to have the experience of a more prudent system. Moreover, they fear that any other solution might engulf the United Nations in a deluge of petitions and paralyze its activities.

Under the circumstances several delegations and organizations, without abandoning the struggle for right of petition of individuals and of groups, are trying now to obtain at least that a certain number of non-governmental organizations with consultative status be officially invested with this right. To the partisans of effective international protection of the rights of man the essential is to prevent at all costs the adoption of a project in which implementation rests exclusively with the states.

### *States and Complaints*

What would happen in a practical sense if the states alone enjoyed the right of complaint? According to the procedure outlined in certain proposals a state "A" would notify a state "B" that the latter had not respected the stipulations of the Covenant. Within a delay of three months state "B" would furnish state "A" with explanations on the existing situation and of measures taken to satisfy the complaint if these were required. Within a delay of not more than six months after the first action, either of the two states might notify the Secretary General. A Committee on Human Rights would then be established which would reach a decision within two years.

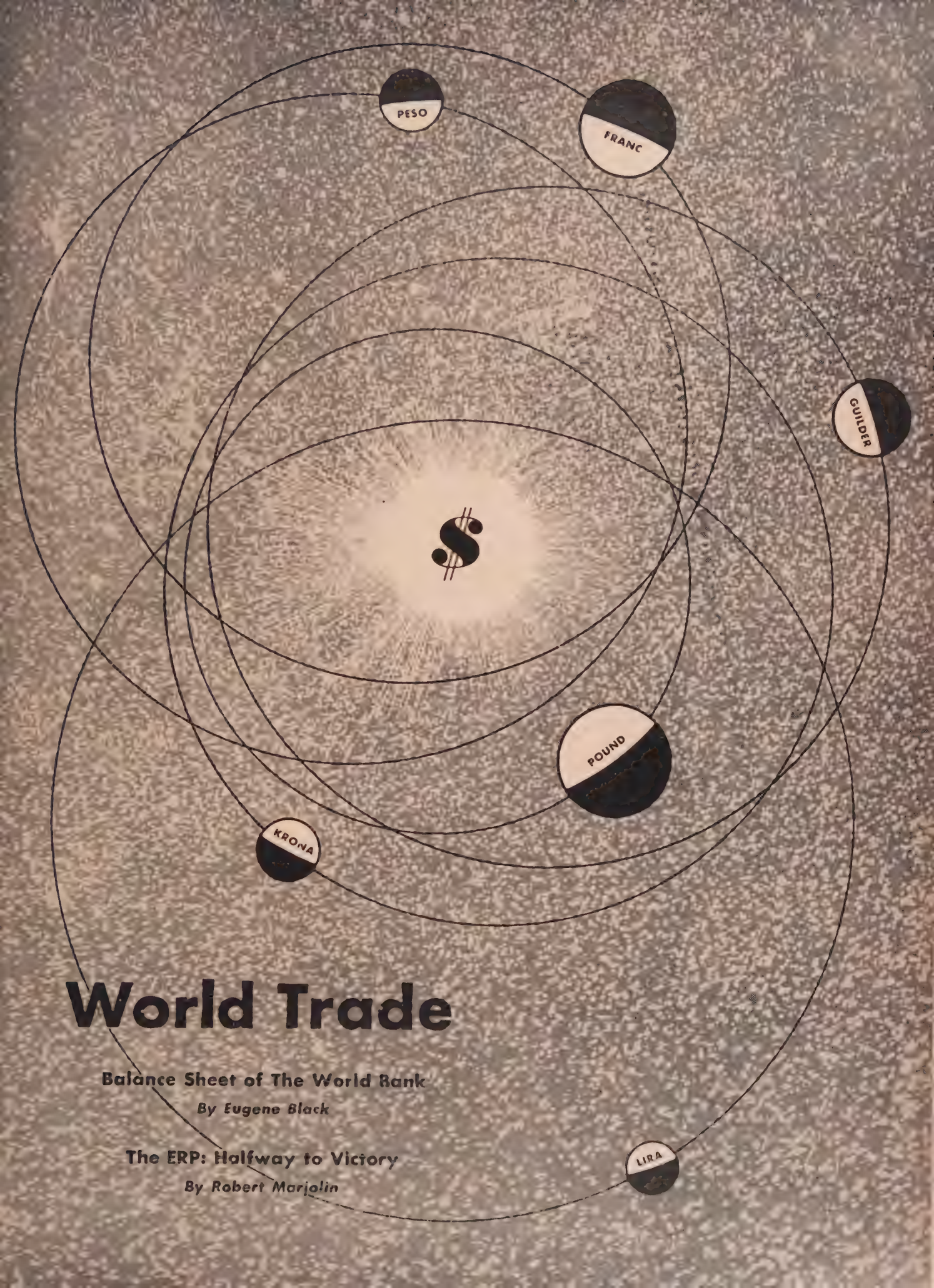
Thus implementation would be launched by a controversy between two states. It is evident that it would remain dominated by this controversy however international might be the procedures of fact-finding, conciliation or noting of a violation. The quarrel between a government and its citizens would degenerate into a quarrel between two nations. The protection of the rights of man would lose both its supernatural character and its character of objectivity. The individual deprived of the right of addressing himself directly to the United Nations would arrange to inform a foreign nation of his grievance against his own government. Is this really a thing to be desired? Is it possible on a vast scale.

The truth is that such a system could not function except in exceptional situations. Would the United Kingdom wish to make use of it to protect the rights of people in South Africa? Would the United States use it to fight the wrongs in a friendly Latin American state? And would it really represent a gain for the cause of international cooperation if for example the governments of Israel and the Arab states or those of India and of Pakistan frequently employed it? Moreover would not this governmental circle in which the idea of international protection of human rights would be enclosed, be too small to allow the right of complaint of the states to function within it? This circle would probably include for the most part nations belonging to the same ideological, political or even military group. The Communist bloc states, including China, would remain absent. The admission of states that are not now members of the United Nations might enlarge it—but would not this be again by states related to the same group?

### *A Strong Covenant or None!*

It is not surprising that in some circles—even official—fear is expressed that a Covenant containing neither economic nor social rights nor an efficient system of enforcement would not go far toward accomplishing its purpose. Many believe the only result of such a Covenant would be to take away from the Universal Declaration the prestige it has acquired. It would emphasize the fact that important rights proclaimed in the Declaration are not taken seriously by the governments and are not legally binding. Would it not be better, such critics ask, if under these conditions there were *no* Covenant for a few years and if for the moment the Declaration were permitted to continue to gain public support and the support of governments?

This is the dramatic crisis faced by the Commission on Human Rights at its sixth session. In describing it we are not unaware either of the great obstacles which stand in the way of the enterprise undertaken by the Commission or of the weight of the arguments invoked by governments anxious not to embark too quickly on an adventure into territory which in their opinion has not been fully explored. Nevertheless it seems to us that in an age which has managed to wrest from the earth and the sun their most terrible secrets to aid men in killing one another more efficiently, it should not be impossible to elaborate a reasonable system for assuring that men may live with greater dignity, liberty and justice. Surely the prospect of a rain of petitions descending upon the Secretariat of the United Nations should not obsess us more than does the vision of a rain of H-bombs wiping out the earth.




# World Trade

**Balance Sheet of The World Bank**

*By Eugene Black*

**The ERP: Halfway to Victory**

*By Robert Marjolin*

*Progress report on the first three years of a hard-headed global agency that proves that sound world finance is the prologue to a stable world economy.*

# Balance Sheet of The World Bank

By EUGENE R. BLACK
*President, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.*

MORE than three years have passed since the start of lending by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. In that period the Bank's record of achievement is exemplified by loans totalling more than $744 million and by extension of technical assistance and advice on reconstruction and development to countries located in many parts of the world.

The Bank's activities have interested not only the financial community but also those concerned with the future of the international economy. This interest has aroused considerable comment about the Bank and its role. Most of this comment has been favorable, though upon occasion unfavorable charges have been made against the Bank. Thus, I believe it is time to take stock of what the Bank has done in the last three years; of the policies which have guided it; and of the position which it occupies in finance and world affairs.

The most concrete results the Bank has to show for three years of lending are the twenty-four loans it has made in thirteen countries. They were made in the face of trying conditions arising from the costliest war in history and by the "cold war" which continues to harry and impede all movements toward political and economic stability. Despite these handicaps, all of the loans made by the Bank are economically sound. They are contributing materially to the reconstruction or development of the borrowing nations. At this point two obvious questions arise: How does the Bank know that its loans are sound? How can its management be certain that the loans are benefiting the borrowers? The answer to these questions rests upon an examination of the Bank's method of granting loans and the uses to which they are being put.

Its first four loans, aggregating a little less than $500 million, were made to France, the Netherlands, Denmark and Luxembourg in the spring and summer of 1947. These loans played a vital part in supplying goods and services needed to start the wheels of industry and production turning again. Included among the goods purchased with the proceeds of these loans were such basic items as locomotives, machine tools, shipping, steel and rolling mill

equipment and fabricated steel and non-ferrous metals.

Despite the falling off of demand in Europe for purely reconstruction loans, due to the Marshall Plan, the work of the Bank in that area is not finished. For example, within the last year, Belgium borrowed $16,000,000 to aid in modernization of existing steel facilities; the Bank of Finland borrowed $12,500,000 for modernization and rehabilitation of Finland's woodwork industries on which the country must rely for a major part of its export trade; and the Netherlands Herstelbank borrowed $15,000,000 to assist in modernization and rehabilitation of a wide cross section of Dutch industry closely connected with export trade. In addition Finland and Yugoslavia borrowed a total of $5,000,000.

These loans, and others still in prospect, indicate that the Bank is making a contribution to the long-term capital recovery of Europe. Its activities in Europe may be expected to expand with the end of the European Recovery Program in 1952.

At the present time, however, the World Bank's activities are directed largely toward development lending, and in the last year loans for this purpose have been made in South and Central America and in the Far East. Included among development loans made in 1949 are commitments for $24,100,000 and $10,000,000 for electric power development in Mexico; $75,000,000 to Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Co., Ltd., a privately-owned Canadian company, to aid in financing expansion of electric power and telephone facilities owned by the company in Brazil; $12,545,000 for development of hydroelectric power in El Salvador; $5,000,000 for increased mechanization of agriculture in Colombia; and $34,000,000 and $10,000,000 for railway rehabilitation and land reclamation, respectively, in India.

In making loans the Bank does not consider only the particular request made by a prospective borrower. It may also take the initiative in suggesting a particular loan project. For example, in 1948 the Government of Chile asked the Bank to make a loan for hydroelectric development in that country. During its investigations the Bank noted that the necessity to import large quantities of food was a major problem of the country. It found that by helping the mechanization of Chile's agricultural production, a substantial amount of additional food could be produced and foreign exchange, particularly dollars, could be saved. The final outcome was that Chile received $2,500,000 to finance importation of agricultural machinery, in addition to $13,500,000 to aid in the development of the country's hydroelectric resources.

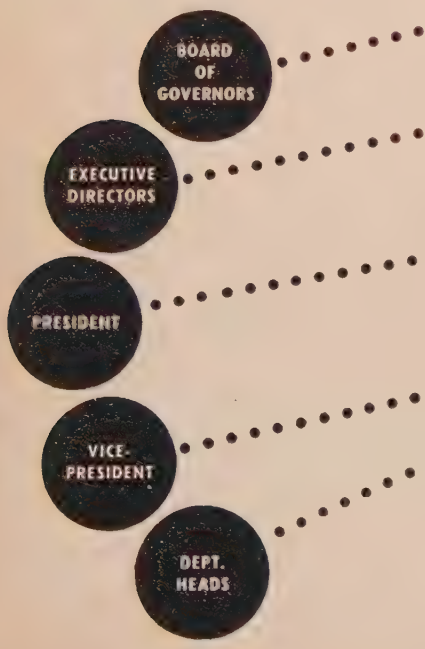
The Bank's loan to El Salvador further demonstrates the diversity of its assistance. This loan, of $12,545,000, will finance the importation of equipment for construction of a 30,000 kilowatt power plant on the Lempa River. The borrower will issue and sell its own bonds publicly in order to acquire funds to meet local expenses of the project.

The beneficial effects of World Bank financing are perhaps best exemplified by its loans to India. After the war, the Indian railways were seriously hampered by lack of efficient motive power. More than 25% of engines in use were over forty years old and many others were in the twenty-to-forty year age category. The railroads could not meet the transport requirements of the country's industry or agriculture, and bottlenecks and a system of priorities were the result. More was at stake, however, than the problem of transporting goods for domestic use within India; her exports, on which she must rely for dollar and other foreign exchange earnings, were seriously affected by the inability of the railroad system to deliver to tidewater a satisfactory volume of goods for export.

The Bank's first loan to India, made last August, was for $34 million and the proceeds were used to

## The World Bank

ORGANIZATION



1818 H Street in Washington: the streamlined headquarters of the International Bank.

# Balance Sheet of the World Bank *continued*

finance a part of the purchase price of more than 650 locomotives from the United States and Canada. An additional $50 million was supplied by India herself from her own dollar resources. Already a substantial part of these locomotives are in use on the country's railroads, and the rail system's efficiency and ability to handle heavier freight volumes is notably increasing.

The second loan to India was made in September, 1949, and the funds are being used to purchase abroad, tractors and other equipment for clearance of land infested with kans grass weed and for pilot clearance of jungle lands. Out of the $10,000,000 involved, $8,750,000 will go for the kans grass project, which envisions the restoration of 3,000,000 acres of land to agricultural production. When the project is completed a total of 1,000,000 tons of food a year will be added to India's domestic supply, plus an additional 4,000,000 tons raised in the land restored during the seven year period of clearance. This additional production will pay for the project many times over through savings of foreign exchange now used to import food; but more importantly it will help to alleviate the most serious deficiency now affecting the Indian economy, namely, lack of food.

I should like to emphasize that the Bank's loans not only benefit the borrowers' immediate need but also serve as solid foundations on which to build future development. Consider the importance of electric power development to an underdeveloped country. Such development not only adds to the efficiency of existing industry through supplying a more efficient and cheaper source of energy, but also creates a reserve of power for new industries and plants which will increase a country's overall productive capacity.

I would like now to turn to my second point—the methods and procedures used by the Bank in making loans.

The Bank's lending policies are based on its Articles of Agreement, from which it derives its powers and which limit the scope of its activities; and on the judgment of the management as to the degree of risk the Bank can properly take.

A brief summary of the major restrictions and policies guiding the Bank in its lending activities follows:

1. All loans must be to member governments, their political subdivisions, or to private or public enterprises located in the territories of such members. If a loan is not made directly to a member government, then a government guarantee of the borrower's obligations must be obtained.

2. Loans must be for productive purposes and justifiable on economic grounds.

3. There must be a reasonable prospect for repayment of the loan, and the Bank is therefore automatically barred from giving grants or easy credits.

4. The Bank must not compete with private capital, and, therefore, must not make loans which could be obtained by the borrower elsewhere on reasonable terms.

5. The Bank must check to ascertain that loan proceeds are used only for the purposes for which the loan was made.

The Bank has been criticized for being too stringent in its rules concerning loans, and has been asked to ease up on them. We who are responsible for the organization's management, however, are convinced that only by pursuing prudent policies can the Bank effectively assist in the reconstruction and development of its member countries. To adopt an easier course would result in a waste of the Bank's limited capital resources; would make it impossible for the Bank to borrow additional

## CAPITAL STRUCTURE

**AUTHORIZED CAPITAL**

**$10,000,000,000 divided into 100,000 shares of $100,000 par value each.**

**SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL**

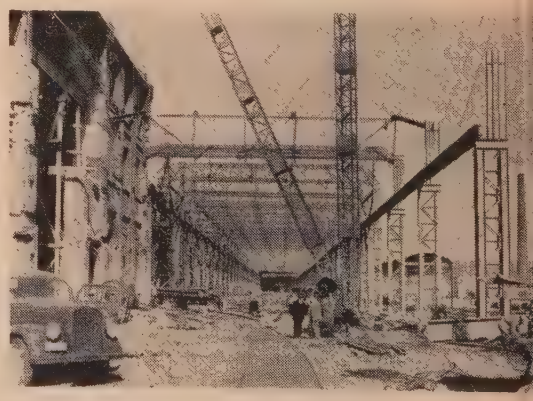
**$8,348,500,000 representing 83,485 shares.**

**PAID IN CAPITAL**

| | United States Subscription | Subscription of other Members | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | In gold or dollars | In gold or dollars | In other currencies |
| 2% | $ 63,500,000 | $98,555,000[1] | |
| 18% | 571,500,000[2] | | $931,230,000[2] |
| | $635,000,000 | $98,555,000 | $931,230,000 |

**CAPITAL SUBJECT TO CALL**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 80% | $2,540,000,000 | $4,138,800,000 |



[1] Payment by 5 countries occupied during the war of an additional $4,915,000 has been postponed until 1951 in accordance with the Articles of Agreement.

[2] Loanable only with consent of member. The United States has consented to use of its full 18% for lending purposes. Belgium, Canada, the United Kingdom and Denmark have similarly consented to the use of

funds in the investment market with which to continue its work: and would ultimately cause our borrowers to suffer from the effects of unsound and uneconomic loans. Only by adhering to its present policies can the Bank discharge its responsibilities to its stockholders, who in every instance are either its borrowers or the guarantors on loans; and to those private investors who have entrusted the Bank with their funds by investing in its bonds.

In order to show how we ensure that the Bank's commitments are sound, I should like to touch on the actual procedure followed in making a loan. On receiving a loan proposal the Bank makes a preliminary examination to ascertain whether or not the proposed loan and the project for which it is requested fall within the sphere of its activities as laid down by the Articles of Agreement. If the proposal passes this initial stage and the project appears to have merit, a careful study is made of the economic and financial condition of the country where the project is to be carried out, and of the prospective borrower, together with a complete analysis of all aspects of the project.

With regard to the project, the Bank makes a thorough study of its financial, economic and technical aspects. It examines the availability of labor, skilled workers and management personnel, who are needed to carry out the project and to operate it when completed. Engineering and technical surveys are made with a view to determining the project's overall feasibility and the actual and potential markets for what it will produce. Local capital resources for financing the costs of labor and of domestically produced materials used in carrying out the project are surveyed. It is essential to determine local capital availability because the World Bank is barred by its Articles of Agreement from making loans in local currency except under exceptional circumstances, and to date no local currency loans have been made.

In making its study of the borrower the Bank has several objectives in mind. It seeks to assess the quality of the borrower's credit; the borrower's ability to earn and obtain the foreign exchange necessary to meet payments on the loan; and finally the capability of the borrower to bring the project to completion and to operate it thereafter.

The Bank studies the economic and financial situation of the country where the loan project is to be located, because it is aware that this will have an important influence on the success of the project and on the borrower's ability to meet payments on the loan. Furthermore, the Bank attempts to ascertain whether the fiscal and administrative policies of the government are suitable for success-

MEMBER COUNTRIES

## The World Bank

| | Voting Power | | Subscriptions | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of Votes | Percent of Total | Millions of Dollars | Percent of Total |
| Australia | 2,250 | 2.36 | 200.0 | 2.40 |
| Austria | 750 | .79 | 50.0 | .60 |
| Belgium | 2,500 | 2.62 | 225.0 | 2.69 |
| Bolivia | 320 | .34 | 7.0 | .08 |
| Brazil | 1,300 | 1.36 | 105.0 | 1.26 |
| Canada | 3,500 | 3.67 | 325.0 | 3.89 |
| Chile | 600 | .63 | 35.0 | .42 |
| China | 6,250 | 6.55 | 600.0 | 7.19 |
| Colombia | 600 | .63 | 35.0 | .42 |
| Costa Rica | 270 | .28 | 2.0 | .02 |
| Cuba | 600 | .63 | 35.0 | .42 |
| Czechoslovakia | 1,500 | 1.57 | 125.0 | 1.50 |
| Denmark | 930 | .97 | 68.0 | .81 |
| Dominican Republic | 270 | .28 | 2.0 | .02 |
| Ecuador | 282 | .30 | 3.2 | .04 |
| Egypt | 783 | .82 | 53.3 | .64 |
| El Salvador | 260 | .27 | 1.0 | .01 |
| Ethiopia | 280 | .29 | 3.0 | .04 |
| Finland | 630 | .66 | 38.0 | .46 |
| France | 5,500 | 5.76 | 525.0 | 6.29 |
| Greece | 500 | .52 | 25.0 | .30 |
| Guatemala | 270 | .28 | 2.0 | .02 |
| Honduras | 260 | .27 | 1.0 | .01 |
| Iceland | 260 | .27 | 1.0 | .01 |
| India | 4,250 | 4.45 | 400.0 | 4.79 |
| Iran | 586 | .61 | 33.6 | .40 |
| Iraq | 310 | .32 | 6.0 | .07 |
| Italy | 2,050 | 2.15 | 180.0 | 2.16 |
| Lebanon | 295 | .31 | 4.5 | .05 |
| Luxembourg | 350 | .37 | 10.0 | .12 |
| Mexico | 900 | .94 | 65.0 | .78 |
| Netherlands | 3,000 | 3.14 | 275.0 | 3.29 |
| Nicaragua | 258 | .27 | .8 | .01 |
| Norway | 750 | .79 | 50.0 | .60 |
| Panama | 252 | .26 | .2 | [1] |
| Paraguay | 264 | .28 | 1.4 | .02 |
| Peru | 425 | .45 | 17.5 | .21 |
| Philippine Republic | 400 | .42 | 15.0 | .18 |
| Poland | 1,500 | 1.57 | 125.0 | 1.50 |
| Syria | 315 | .33 | 6.5 | .08 |
| Thailand | 375 | .39 | 12.5 | .15 |
| Turkey | 680 | .71 | 43.0 | .51 |
| Union of South Africa | 1,250 | 1.31 | 100.0 | 1.20 |
| United Kingdom | 13,250 | 13.88 | 1,300.0 | 15.57 |
| United States | 32,000 | 33.51 | 3,175.0 | 38.03 |
| Uruguay | 355 | .37 | 10.5 | .13 |
| Venezuela | 355 | .37 | 10.5 | .13 |
| Yugoslavia | 650 | .68 | 40.0 | .48 |
| TOTAL | 95,485 | 100.00 | 8,348.5 | 100.00 |

[1] Less than .005 percent.

ful economic development. It also determines whether or not the country can carry a greater foreign debt burden; and the effect that the completed project will have on the country and on its neighboring states.

An enormous amount of work is entailed in making these investigations. The task, which may take months, is carried on largely by the Bank's staff but their work would be impossible without the cooperation of the member government involved, particularly in making data available or working with Bank representatives in the preparation of such data when is not at hand.

A substantial part of the task of making a loan is done at the Bank's headquarters in Washington, D. C., where information received from borrowers and from other sources is compiled and studied. The Bank believes, however, that in most cases an on-the-spot investigation is necessary in order to get a full view of the project, the borrowers and the countries concerned with the various loans. Field missions have been the result. These missions are staffed by the Bank's own experts who may be assisted by specialists retained as consultants. The reports of the missions are incorporated into the general loan studies, where they have proven invaluable to the management in reaching sound conclusions regarding loan applications.

The success of the missions in making recommendations on particular projects and in suggesting ways and means of preparing and planning overall economic programs in a number of countries has been responsible for a growing activity of the Bank.

At the present time a Bank mission is visiting India for a further review of that country's economy. This same mission has already visited the Philippine Republic, Thailand and Pakistan to study their economic and financial conditions and their possibilities for development. A mission will go to Iran this spring to consider certain of the top priority projects in its seven year development program; while a group has already visited Iraq to discuss an irrigation and flood control plan on the Tigris River.

The Bank has made on-the-spot studies of projects for grain storage, port construction and hydroelectric power, irrigation and flood control in Turkey. In addition a consultant sent by the Bank to Turkey has investigated the possibility of setting up a development bank there for the purpose of encouraging the further development of private enterprise.

A number of Latin American countries have been hosts to Bank missions within the last year as well. One group went to Brazil to study the economic and financial situation of the country; the priorities that should be accorded development projects; and the Brazilian Government's policies for promoting development. The mission that has attracted the greatest interest was the one to Colombia, under the direction of Dr. Lauchlin Currie. This mission had no particular loan prospect in view; its purpose was to make a survey of the wealth of Colombia and its development possibilities. It was sent at the invitation of the Colombian Government, which defrayed a part of its expenses. Actually the purpose of the mission was to help Colombia to help itself. Requests for further missions of this type have been received by the Bank and are now under consideration.

### *Proceeding with Caution*

While this is a rather incomplete picture of the Bank and its work, I believe it shows that we are more than an engine of credit. If we have not moved ahead as fast as some believe we should have, it is because of the difficulties inherent in international lending, a lack of well planned projects, and the inability of a number of countries to absorb development projects into their economies. Certainly, it is not from any desire to withhold assistance, or because of a lack of loanable funds. I am certain that if the Bank had not followed its present course it would not have achieved its present position of trust. I am also certain that investors would not view the Bank's securities as high quality issues if it had not been prudent in its approach to the tasks set for it.

In conclusion, I should like to make the following observations about economic development in general. Development does not consist solely of pouring dollars or other currencies into an underdeveloped country and then standing by expecting a miracle of industrial and agricultural expansion to take place. Neither does it consist of the building of vast industrial or agricultural enterprises. There can be no doubt that investment and the carrying out of projects are important parts of development, but it ought to be remembered that they are parts of a whole.

Other factors of equal or greater importance for development include the establishment of markets for the products of development; the attitude and activities of government regarding private and public enterprise; the ability of the people to master the technical problems involved in developing agriculture or industry; and the willingness of the people and the government to put their savings into the local costs of projects, which generally comprise a major part of investment in a development program.

Finally, there is the human or psychological element in development to be considered. Not all development projects are welcomed. Particularly in agriculture one runs up against a conservatism that is based on centuries-old folkways, and therefore difficulties may arise from too hurried attempts toward modernization of agricultural methods. In addition, by changing one aspect of a country's economy, drastic changes in the way of life of great areas of the population may result, which in turn might produce severe social repercussions. For these reasons, if not for others, development must be planned with a view to meeting such problems if they arise. Development also must move slowly in many cases to give people time to catch their breath, as it were, if the world is not to pay too dearly in social and political unrest for economic expansion.

*Of the two major aims of the ERP, the first has been largely achieved*

√1 *To restore and raise Western Europe's productive capacity*

✣2 *To bring balance into world trade*

# THE ERP: Halfway to Victory

By ROBERT MARJOLIN
*Secretary General of the OEEC*

SUCCESS is the word for the two first years of the ERP. And while that success is not unqualified, it remains positive and even phenomenal in view of the fact that the very existence of Western Europe was at stake.

Production gains have exceeded even the most sanguine forecasts. Recovery has been achieved at a faster pace, and on a wider scale, than during the comparable 24 months period after World War I. Within that time-span, all critical shortages have been abolished. Industrial output has gone up by 30 per cent and is now 15 per cent higher than in 1938.

Agricultural production has risen by 25%, thereby returning to its pre-war level. Total production of commodities and services stands at 25% above its 1947 mark. There have been few strikes, and these didn't last long. Full employment prevails in most of the participating countries.

Purchasing power has also gone up, but not as rapidly as production—since an unprecedented investment effort has been made to modernize existing facilities and increase productive capacity. Never before has Europe devoted so great a proportion of her resources to insuring her own future. While per capita consumption of goods is still 10% below pre-war level, many countries put 20%, 25% and even 35% of their funds into capital goods; into equipment for still greater production.

Production has risen in overseas territories as well. Their exports have returned to their pre-war volume, and a considerable new development of resources is under way.

The increase in production has paved the way for domestic financial stability. Of the 15 member states of the OEEC, only 3 in 1949 show a 10% increase in wholesale prices over 1948. In four countries, wholesale prices have gone down. In all of the participating countries, budgets are more nearly balanced. Trade among the member states has gone up by 50% in two years, and has reached an overall amount of about $9 million per year. This roughly corresponds to the pre-war volume. The past year has witnessed a rapid trend toward the equilibrium of intra-European balance of payments, and the elimination of many sharp contrasts in creditor and debtor positions.

All this progress would have been impossible without American aid. The OEEC report points out that a yearly assistance of $4 or 5 billion has laid the groundwork for a supplementary production which can be valued at $30 billion per year. This aid has been put to good use: in 1947, the deficit in the balance of payments of participating countries

✣

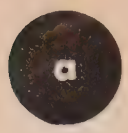
***The second can be accomplished only if soft European currencies can be hardened into dollars***

was $8 billion. In 1948, this deficit had been reduced to $5.5 billion; in 1949-50 it had gone down to $4.5 billion.

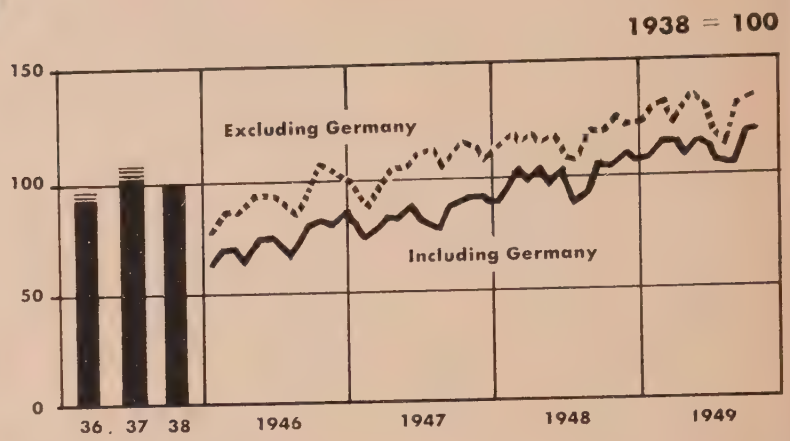
Programs and forecasts forwarded to the OEEC by its member nations promise new progress during the next two years. Most countries foresee a continued increase in industrial production, at twice the speed realized in the industrially advanced countries between the two World Wars. Plans of the participating countries include a 15% increase in agricultural production during the next four or five years. Total production of commodities and services should show a growth of 10% by 1952. Investment to enlarge and improve productive facilities is to continue in most of the countries—both in continental and overseas areas. Either in the planning stage or actually under construction are large projects in overseas territories, many of them long-range in character, that will require a capital expenditure of some $7 billion, over a period of several years. (The dollar is taken here only a basis for calculations; actual expenditure in dollars will only be a fraction of the total.)

These perspectives have made it possible for participating countries to declare that they could get along with a reduction in US assistance to $3 billion in 1950-51 and to $2 billion in 1951-52, provided, however, that several conditions are met—the most important of which is to maintain economic activity in the United States at a consistently high level. Experience has shown that even a small and temporary drop in this activity has catastrophic consequences for the European economy; for this situation brings about in the US a decline in imports larger in proportion to the decline of both manufacturing and merchandising in the US.

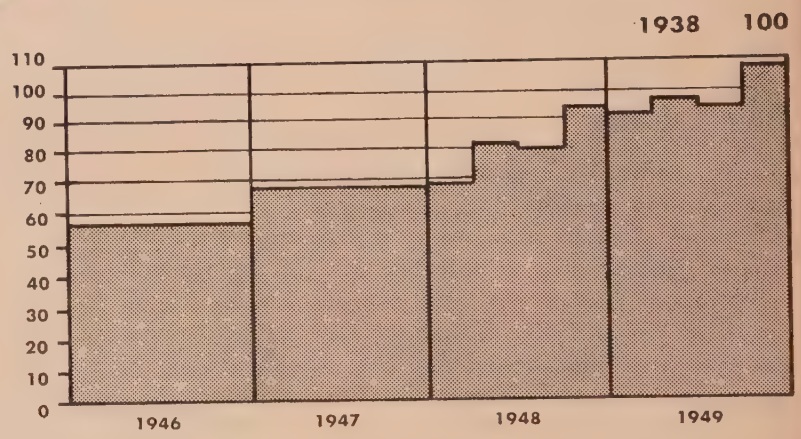
I had wanted to review, first of all, the progress accomplished to show that Europe had made good use of the assistance so generously afforded by the American people. Yet I would be remiss in my duty if I failed to underline at this point the hardships still to be overcome before accomplishing a new equilibrium of exchanges and international payments compatible with a high level of employment in Europe, in the US and throughout the world.



**Index of Industrial Production in O.E.E.C. Countries**



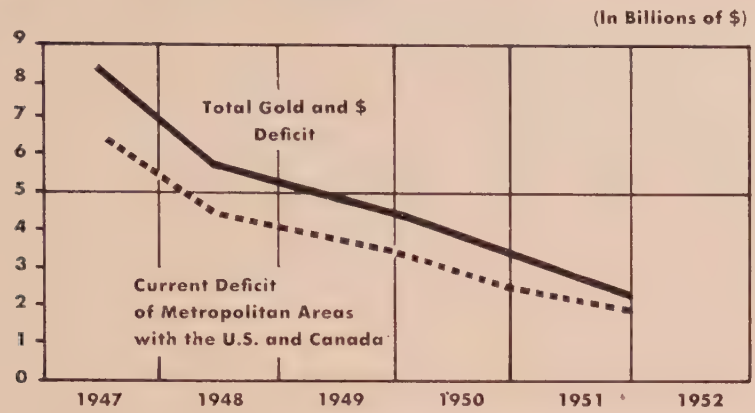
**Volume of Trade Between Participants**



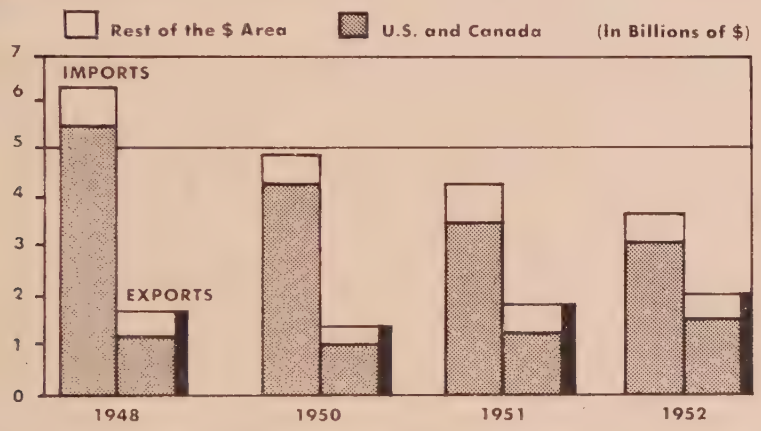

The dollar problem remains tough and thorny. Experience in the last two years has shown that a solution to this problem is fully as difficult as had been anticipated. It calls for action above and beyond the spheres of responsibility of the OEEC countries themselves.

To be able to live in 1951-52 with $2 billion in American aid, Europe must develop its exports to North America by 50% and reduce its imports from North American by 25% during the next two years. Due to last summer's devaluations and to intensive European effort, this goal can be attained if the level of activity remains high in the US. But in 1951-52, with American aid in the amount of $2 billion, Europe can only allow herself $3 billion of imports from North America. What will happen after 1951-52, when American aid will have ceased and most European countries will have to meet all their needs with their resources alone? A new reduction in imports from North America is possible, but only in a limited way. The new world equilibrium which we must reach must include a free continued flow of exchanges between North America and Europe. Any other solution would gravely damage the trading patterns

**Gold and Dollar Balance of Payments of Participating Countries**



**Value of Imports and Exports of the O.E.E.C. Countries with the U.S. and Canada and with the Rest of the $ Area**




for Europe, for America, as well as for the entire western community.

It is this problem of European balance of payments after 1951-52 that the OEEC has examined and discussed for several weeks with special care. The pitfalls of over-optimism and over-pessimism had to be avoided, for both are destructive. After weighing all sides of the question, the conclusion was reached that the obstacles are not insuperable. If certain conditions are met, and with everyone cooperating, Europe should be able to reach, in 1952, its first goal —independence from all special foreign assistance.

The deficit at that time, although it may not have disappeared completely, will have been reduced to modest and manageable proportions which would make it subject to normal financing. This does not mean that some countries will not be in a difficult situation once Marshall Plan aid has ceased. Greece and Austria, for instance, are salient examples; there is little chance that either will be able to survive without foreign assistance for three years—at least a year beyond the expiration of ERP. But such cases should be treated on an individual basis requiring individual solutions.

I have stated that this goal of comparative self-sufficiency could be attained only if certain conditions are met. These are, first of all, the continuation of American aid until 1952 at an adequate level, and the maintenance of a prosperous economy in the United States. Given these favorable prerequisites, the participating countries are convinced that the ultimate success of the task they are undertaking requires the mobilization of all their own energies together with a close cooperation with other countries of the free world.

The equilibrium we are dealing with here is a world equilibrium. There is no lasting solution of the European problem outside of a global solution in which each area of the free world can have its place. Hence the program of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) is conceived and put into effect to quicken the flow of commodities throughout the world.

The first stage in any such program is to eliminate the dollar deficit. Let us say right now that there is no one panacea in this sphere. No single measure will suffice. What must be done is to attack the problem from all possible angles; and priority given to methods which will facilitate the building of a "one" world economy.

This is why participating countries have emphasized the development of visible and invisible exports, rather than the reduction in imports from North America. I must refer, at this point, to the Report for a detailed analysis of techniques to insure success for the "export drive" provide exporters with facilities for their supply of raw materials, export credits, systematic market research and dissemination of information. development of advertising, exchange of information and the like. To live with $2 billion in American aid in 1951-52, Europe will have to increase its exports to North America in that period by 50%. But even if she succeeds in doing this, her exports will still pay only half of her imports from North America. That is to say that the effort must be continued after 1951-52, and must also be increased if possible. Taking into account invisible exports, as well as the possibility of earning dollars on other markets, the objective set for themselves by member states for the period immediately following 1951-52 is a 75% coverage of their im-

ports from North America by their exports. The final objective, as well as the intermediary goals, can only be reached if the domestic stability of Europe is maintained and consolidated. The figures I have just cited mean that, in the course of the next two years. Europe will have to export one-third, and perhaps even one-half, of any increase in production. That is a goal to be reached that requires a strong financial policy.

A great effort is under way in Europe and in the overseas territories to develop new resources, to replace commodities that participating countries will no longer be in a position to import from North America. What is needed, for example, is to increase agricultural production in Europe and in overseas territories; production of secondary cereals, fats and other stuffs, non-ferrous metals, phosphates, and a long list of other items. The growth in production of crude oil and the extension of refining capacity must cover the foreseen increase in demand, without too great a dollar expenditure.

Finally, the European economy must be able to consolidate its position and definitely solve its problems in order to move toward a still closer economic integration. Recent steps taken by the participating countries have made possible the freeing of 50% of intra-European exchanges. Discussions are under way for establishing a new system of payments which will allow a closer cooperation between member nations and will represent a step forward in the re-establishment of convertibility on a world scale. Adoption of this system of payments should usher in a new phase in the freeing of exchanges, and should bring us closer to the elimination of almost all quantitative restrictions among participating countries. For it is indeed certain that, although these efforts towards closer integration may not give immediate results in the reduction of the dollar shortage, they remain indispensable in solving Western Europe's economic problems.

It is evident then that final success depends not only on the efforts of Europe, but also on the economic policy followed by the US and other non-participating countries. I would only point out once more the need for a high level of economic activity in the United States, and for continuation of US aid until 1952 in adequate form. Further, Europe will not be able sufficiently to increase her visible and invisible exports if the trend towards the lowering of custom tariffs and other trade restrictions—a move which, since its inception at the end of World War II, has brought about important results—is not pushed forward throughout the world, particularly in the US.

It will also be impossible for Europe to develop her exports to the US in a way to level off her balance of payments. Europe will still be compelled to earn dollars in other countries, whose own balance of payments would be in excess of that of the United States. The European problem can only be solved if multilateral trade can be put into effect. But, at this time, all areas of the world are in debt to the United States. This is a factor which cannot be controlled by members of the OEEC — but it is vital to their future.

The same principle applies to the development of private or public investments in Europe. The re-establishment of a great wave of American investing throughout the world would considerably help to solve the problem of Europe. To a certain extent this re-establishment depends on Europeans themselves, but it is also subject to extraneous circumstances beyond their control. Finally, for a certain number of countries—and particularly for Italy—there can be no lasting solution to their difficulties without a return to emigration on a much greater scale than is at present under way. On this point too, joint action of Europe and of the rest of the world is indispensable.

I wanted to enumerate briefly some of the circumstances that are beyond the control of the member states of the Organization, to point out that their fate does not rest entirely in their own hands. But these countries are deeply aware that the responsibility for effective action is fully their own. They know that only if they do everything in their power can they expect further help—not by an extension of American aid, but by close cooperation toward the solution of those problems that each country is powerless to solve alone.

PLENARY SESSION OF OEEC MEETS AT CHATEAU DE LA MUETTE, PARIS

VISHINSKY: *After you, Mr. Secretary.*
DEAN ACHESON: *After you, Mr. Commissar.*

A page from *"UN Sketchbook" by Derso and Kelen,* unofficial historians of international organizations for the past quarter century. *"UN Sketchbook"* is being published this month by UN WORLD—Funk & Wagnalls.

*An Editorial*

# More Important Than the H-Bomb

By AMBASSADOR HERNAN SANTA CRUZ
*President of the Economic and Social Council*

THE most vital undertaking for peace, prosperity and the freedom of mankind in the world today is the Expanded Technical Assistance Program upon which the United Nations is embarking. This program took its inspiration from the already historic Point Four of President Truman's inaugural speech of January 1949.

In accordance with the unanimous resolutions of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly of the UN, seventy-three governments have been invited by the Secretary General to meet on May 16 at Lake Success, in the largest gathering of nations on record.

It is the deep conviction of this writer that there is no more urgent task for any peace- and freedom-loving human being than to give the utmost support to this program. If it succeeds, it will alter the face of the earth and make war impossible.

The Technical Assistance program represents a new high point in the evolution of man. It marks the common responsibility of all countries for the improvement of economic and social conditions everywhere.

Point Four and the Technical Assistance program are the supreme confirmation of the principle that not only peace, but also prosperity and want are indivisible in an interdependent world. This program recognizes that economic backwardness in far-flung areas jeopardizes stability and full employment in the great industrial countries. Only steadily increasing global demand and purchasing power can maintain and raise the high standards of living of the industrial nations. There can be no international peace without social peace. The democratic ideal will constantly be threatened wherever hunger and misery are the scourge of the vast majority of the population.

To create a permanent foundation for the free life, we must promote without delay economic and social well-being on a universal scale.

The Technical Assistance Program, while essentially an outgrowth of the democratic philosophy of life, is not directed against the Soviet powers. They, too, will benefit by the resulting prosperity, provided they are willing to participate in this gigantic undertaking, and to abandon methods of constant expansion which cannot be tolerated by the free world.

Technical Assistance offers a new departure in the relations between countries, whatever their political philosophy, once aggression, infiltration and subversion are rejected as an instrument of national policy.

It is my hope that the democratic nations—and particularly the United States, upon which so much depends—will recognize the urgency of today's problems and will give the Technical Assistance Program of the United Nations number 1 priority. Otherwise it is my conviction, based on long observation and participation in the international scene, that the Soviet Union will continue to advance without firing a single shot. Unless international collaboration in the economic and social fields is stepped up to a maximum, Soviet Communism will impose its undeterred will on the countries of Europe and Asia. For Latin America, because of its geographic location this danger is not so imminent. Yet even there, without Technical Assistance Soviet Communism will succeed in introducing so many elements of confusion that the vital cooperation between that vast area and the rest of the democratic world will be seriously weakened or crushed.

All these dangers can be avoided by an effective implementation of the Technical Assistance Program. The aim of the program, as outlined by the Economic and Social Council, is to encourage maximum utilization of material and human resources, increased productivity and equitable distribution. Only thus can the dream of a higher living standard for all the world's population be realized.

The program is designed to meet the needs of the various interested countries. It calls for those specific social improvements which must accompany any effective economic development. Intensification and diversification of production, development of world trade, social, educational and health improvements to increase the value of human capital are the central objectives.

In summing up, the Technical Assistance Program offers almost unlimited opportunities to sound public and private investment within the framework of a world constantly advancing toward permanent peace and security.

Every cooperative effort, every new channel of commercial and cultural intercourse helps weave the fabric of an international community that is strong. If an impregnable world peace is to be ours, all nations must put their hand to the loom now.

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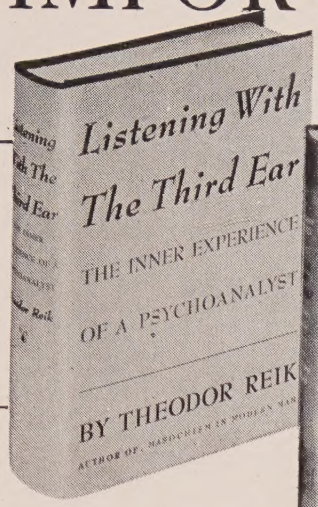


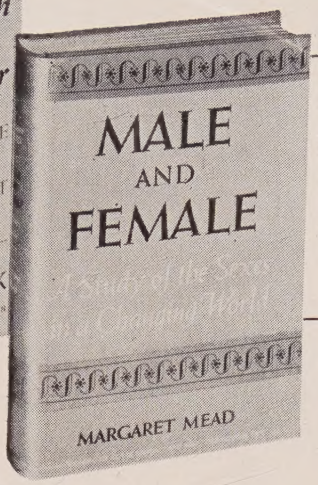


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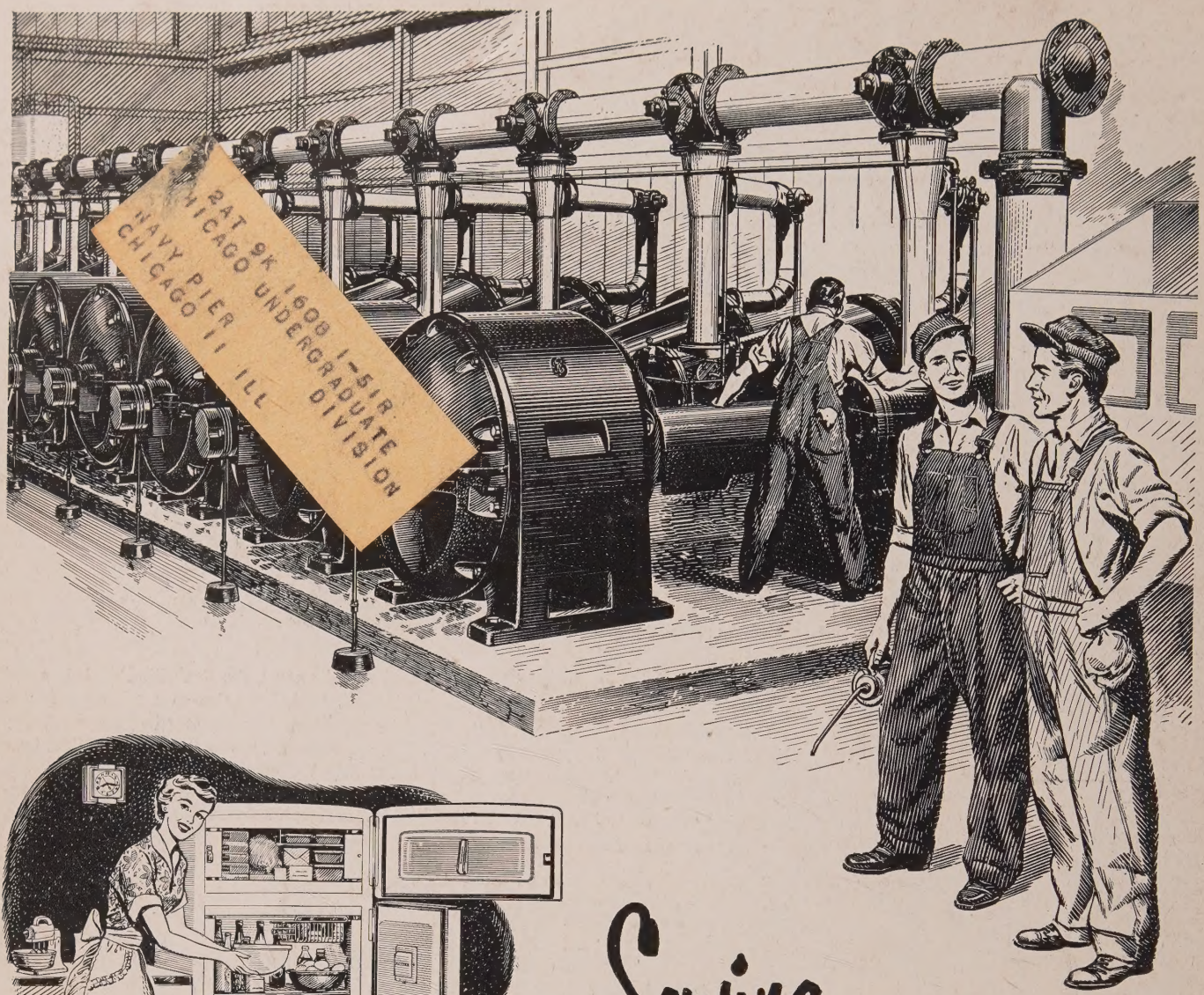

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